

# HOW TO REWRITE TORAH:

## The Case for Proto-Sectarian Ideology in the *Reworked Pentateuch (4QRP)\**

### *Summary*

This study challenges the initial categorization of the *Reworked Pentateuch* (4Q364-4Q367) as another non-sectarian textual witness to the Torah. A close analysis of the manuscripts suggests that certain unaligned readings likely reflect some of the sectarian ideas of the community. Other variants evoke both content and ideology of the authoritative “Rewritten Bible” documents, the *Temple Scroll* and *Jubilees*. These characteristics imply that 4QRP contains deliberate reworking of biblical material that is in line with sectarian ideology, in contrast to a mere mechanical copying of the text. Though the scroll may not be strictly sectarian, at the very least, it is proto-sectarian in that 4QRP served as source material for the community’s ideology.

### 1. Introduction

THE *Reworked Pentateuch* (hereafter, 4QRP) is one of the more intriguing texts from Qumran published in the last decade. Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White (Crawford), the editors of the *editio princeps*, assert that the manuscripts of 4Q364-4Q367 and 4Q158 represent copies of the same text. (1) All five scrolls include

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(1) For a review of the textual relationship between these manuscripts, see Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White (Crawford), “4Q364-4Q367. 4QReworked Pentateuch<sup>b-e</sup> and 365a 4QTemple?” In *Qumran Cave 4 VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. Harold Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 188-91; Sidnie White Crawford, “Three Fragments from Qumran Cave 4 and Their Relationship to the

Pentateuchal material along with brief exegetical comments of varying length from just a few words to as many as eight lines. The manuscripts pay limited attention to order, and they freely add and delete sections of the Hebrew Bible. Such fluidity on the Pentateuch makes it apparent that the text is not merely another biblical manuscript. Rather, White (Crawford) classifies *4QRP* in the category of "Re-written Torah." (2) In the preliminary report of *4QRP*, White (Crawford) makes the following observation: "In content, there is nothing strictly sectarian...this scroll with its eclectic text of the Pentateuch, may not be a Qumran composition, but rather may have been brought into the sect from the outside." (3) Rather than being a sectarian work, White (Crawford) and Tov suggest that this is just another textual witness to the Torah, related to the proto-Samaritan Pentateuch based on the number of affinities that the text has with the Samaritan Pentateuch in disagreement with the MT. (4) The text also has some exclusive agreement with the LXX and a few non-aligned readings as well.

This paper challenges the initial categorization of this text as merely a non-sectarian biblical tradition from the proto-Samaritan Pentateuch. A close analysis of the manuscripts, particularly the larger scrolls of *4Q364* and *4Q365*, reveals several interesting attributes. First, *4QRP* makes subtle changes to the text that likely reflect some of the sectarian ideas of the community. Second, the content of *4QRP* has close affinities to the *Temple Scroll* and *Jubilees*, both of which have a degree of authoritative status within the Qumran community. Third, the orthography, morphology and scribal notations of *4QRP* point towards Qumran copying of the text, and more likely, Qumran sectarian usage. These attributes suggest that *4QRP* contains deliberate reworking of biblical material that is in line with sectarian ideology, in contrast to a mere mechanical copying of the existing texts. Though the scroll may not be strictly sectarian, at the very least, it is proto-sectarian, in that *4QRP* served as source material for sectarian ideology. More broadly, the implications of this brief study force us to dispose of any strict polarity between sectarian

Temple Scroll," *JQR* 85 (1994): 259-73; for an alternative interpretation of one of the scrolls, see George J. Brooke, "4Q158: Reworked Pentateuch<sup>a</sup> or Reworked Pentateuch A?" *DSD* 8 (2001): 219-41.

(2) Sidnie Ann White (Crawford), "4Q364 & 365: A Preliminary Report," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18-21 March, 1991* (2 vols.; ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Madrid: Editorial Complutense; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 1. 228.

(3) White (Crawford), "4Q364 & 365: A Preliminary Report," 220.

(4) Tov and White (Crawford) cautiously state, "This relation (of *4QRP*) tilts the evidence towards the Samaritan Pentateuch," Tov and White (Crawford), *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 195.

versus non-sectarian in favor of a broader continuum when classifying the scrolls. (5)

## 2. Proto-Sectarian Textual Variants

Overall, the text of *4QRP* adheres quite closely to the MT, making variants and additions much more salient. Tov and White (Crawford) typically interpret such changes as either exegetical additions, or alternate textual traditions. (6) Admittedly, these explanations can sufficiently account for most of the variant readings of *4QRP*. However, some of the changes are better explained as arising from ideological forces.

One such change occurs in *Exod* 17:5, found in *4Q365* 7 i.4. For the crucial phrase זקני ישראל (“elders of Israel”), the scribe of the Qumran manuscript replaces the word ישראל (“Israel”) with העדה (“assembly”). The Samaritan Pentateuch, Peshitta and various Targumim all agree with the MT against *4QRP*, suggesting a deliberate re-working of the biblical text by the Qumran community. (7) A closer examination of this variant supports such an interpretation. The phrase זקני ישראל occurs thirty-two times in the MT, yet appears only once in all non-biblical Qumran literature. In contrast, the phrase זקני העדה occurs merely two times in the Hebrew Bible, and appears in one other instance in the Qumran non-biblical corpus, the *Temple Scroll*. (8) Throughout several highly sectarian scrolls, such as the *Rule of the Congregation* (*IQSa*), the *Damascus Document* (*CD*) and the *War Scroll* (*IQM*), the term עדה specifically refers to the commu-

(5) This paper assumes McGuire’s dimensional sociological typology of a sect, meaning that the group has a strong claim for the possession of sole truth, and a relatively high tension between the group and society. As a starting point, Jutta Jokiranta’s methodology is used for determining the sectarian nature of a Qumran text: “The tension with socio-cultural environment, given that one can specify the scope of analysis, and the tendency to view oneself as uniquely legitimate, or the tendency to set up boundaries against others.” Jutta Jokiranta, “‘Sectarianism’ of the Qumran ‘Sect’: Sociological Notes,” *RdQ* 20 (2001): 229, 238. For other definitions of sect during the Second Temple period, see Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (JSJSup 55; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 5-15; also Shayne J.D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (LEC; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1988), 125-27.

(6) Tov and White (Crawford), *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 192-96.

(7) Parenthetically, the LXX uses the term λαός (“people”) in *Exod* 17:5, following neither the MT (one would expect Ἰσραήλ for ישראל) nor *4Q365* (συναγωγή for עדה), but rather a Greek term that is used almost exclusively for עם (“people”). Both the LXX and *4QRP* reflect different social settings for translating the concept of Jewish people. For the LXX, the compilers did not care to distinguish the Jewish peoples, thus they chose a general term. For Qumran, this social group refers to a restricted group, specifically, their own elite leaders, and accordingly, *4Q365* uses a precise term in lieu of the Jerusalem group זקני ישראל.

(8) *Lev* 4:16; *Judg* 21:16; *11QT<sup>a</sup>* 42.13-14.

nity at Qumran. In *4QRP*, the insertion of the phrase זקני העדה suggests a deliberate manipulation of the text in order to subvert the authority of the Jerusalem group זקני ישראל. By changing this specific term, the Qumran scribes erase part of the textual evidence that attacks their own legitimacy, while maintaining their allegiance to sacredness of the Torah. The importance of the text of *Exodus* 17 as the last stop of the Israelites before the revelation at Sinai solidifies this interpretation for a sectarian driven edit.

As one of the largest, most important biblical scrolls at Qumran, *4QpaleoExod<sup>m</sup>* (*4Q22*) serves as a control to this example of a proto-sectarian edit. This scroll is the only other biblical manuscript at Qumran that deals with the phrase זקני ישראל, which it leaves unchanged. (9) Significantly, this scroll (in contrast to *4QRP*) does not reflect Qumran scribal practice, and therefore, the absence of such ideological changes is expected. (10) With its adherence to a known textual tradition and non-Qumran scribal practice, *4Q22* falls under the rubric of non-sectarian biblical manuscript, whereas *4QRP* appears to be a proto-sectarian rewritten biblical manuscript. (11)

An additional sectarian variant appears in *4Q364* 19a-19b.7, which omits the biblical reference to the first day of the fifth month, the day of Aaron's death. (12) None of the major textual witnesses leave out this pivotal date. Tov and White (Crawford) suggest that the omission may reflect an earlier text, since the Hebrew Bible never mentions the exact dates of Moses' and Miriam's death. (13) A more likely explanation for this omission may lie within the problem of calendrical references. Because of the contention between solar and lunar calendars and the different dates for certain festivals within various strands of Judaism, the Qumran community may have intentionally made this omission. Other biblical passages highlight the importance of this particular date. According to *Zech* 7:3 and 8:9, the fifth month was a time of abstinence and fasting. *Ezra* 7:6-9 states that Ezra arrived to Jerusalem on the first day of the fifth month, an obvious reference to his priestly function. Considering the Qumran community's celebration of the new wine festival, which fell on the third day of the same month according to the *Temple Scroll*, the mention of Aaron's death may have been unnecessary.

(9) *4Q22* xxvi.32, drawing on *Exod* 24:9.

(10) Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 279.

(11) In the DJD publication, the editors suggests that *4Q22* aligns itself most closely to the textual tradition known by the Samaritan Pentateuch, yet without the sectarian addition of a command to build an altar on Mount Gerizim; see Judith E. Sanderson, "4QpaleoExodus<sup>m</sup>," in *Qumran Cave 4 IV: Paleo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (ed. Eugene Ulrich et al.; DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 65-70.

(12) *Num* 33:38.

(13) Tov and White (Crawford), *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 226.

(14) All of these circumstances compel one to question whether this omission was deliberate to further legitimize the Qumran calendar and festival dates.

Individually, the preceding examples of divergent readings in *4QRP* do not unambiguously represent sectarian variants. But in light of the understanding of the Qumran community, its penchant for isolation and the struggles with multiple groups of Judaism for legitimacy, one cannot merely dismiss such variants as disinterested scribal edits nor textual traditions. In contrast, investigating the potential sectarian motivations for such changes can enhance our complete understanding of the scrolls and their place in textual transmission. The proto-sectarian ideology within these minor changes becomes increasingly evident when comparing the content of *4QRP* to two other important Qumran documents.

### 3. Affinities to the *Temple Scroll*

Though scholarship has corrected Yigael Yadin's initial assumption of a Qumran provenance for the *Temple Scroll*, most scholars still argue that it serves as an important and authoritative work for the people of the Qumran sect, possibly as an earlier source for some of their sectarian doctrine. (15) Accordingly, just as proto-sectarian ideology runs in the *Temple Scroll*, so does such influence find itself in *4QRP*. As mentioned earlier, *4QRP* and the *Temple Scroll* are the only two scrolls that contain the phrase *וקני העדה*. *4QRP*'s omission of the date of Aaron's death eliminates any conflict for the celebration of the *Temple Scroll*'s festival of first wine. As examples of the genre of rewritten scripture, both documents add exegetical commentaries and re-arrange the text of the Torah freely.

Most significantly, *4Q365* 23 shares several non-biblical materials with the *Temple Scroll* regarding festivals. Tov and White (Crawford) note that both *11QT<sup>a</sup>* 11.12 and *4Q365* 23.9 contain an extra-biblical reference to a *מַן* *וְעֵד הַיֵּצֵהר* ("festival of fresh oil"), inserted seamlessly as "There is no scribal separation between the biblical and the nonbiblical material." (16) Juxtaposed to this festival, *4QRP* adds the phrase *יקריבו את העצים* ("they will bring the wood"), referring to the "festival of fresh wood," which also plays a significant role in the

(14) James C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Routledge, 1998), 68.

(15) George J. Brooke, "Introduction," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (ed. George J. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 18; Dwight D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible* (STDJ 14; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 239-43; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Temple Scroll," *ABD* 6. 348-50.

(16) The scroll *4QCalendrical Doc. Eb<sup>v</sup>* (*4Q327*) also contains a reference to the "festival of fresh oil;" Tov and White (Crawford), *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 293.

*Temple Scroll*. (17) The Hebrew Bible never explicitly mentions either festival, though it hints at them in *Num* 18:12 and *Neh* 10:35. But both Qumran documents emphasize the magnitude of these festivals as God himself commands observance during the Sinaitic revelation to Moses. (18) They are inserted in *Leviticus* 24, after instructions for Sukkot with the authoritative formula, **וידבר יהוה אל משה לאמור** ("The Lord spoke to Moses, saying"), giving a voice of authority to this text of legal tradition. (19) Moshe J. Bernstein argues that by choosing such phrasing within a legal passage, the authors deliberately attempt to legitimize these festivals: "This passage must be considered pseudepigraphic in the strongest authoritative sense." (20) He describes this as "authoritative pseudepigrapha" as opposed to "convenient pseudepigrapha," which refers to supplementary interpolations without any intention to convey authority. (21)

In addition to naming these festivals, both texts appear to give identical order on the days of tribal offerings for the festivals:

	4Q365 23.10-11	11QT <sup>a</sup> XIV
1 <sup>st</sup> day	Levi...	Levi and Judah
2 <sup>nd</sup> day	...	Benjamin and Joseph
3 <sup>rd</sup> day	[Reu]ben and Simon	Reuben and Simon
4 <sup>th</sup> day	...	Issachar and Zebulon
5 <sup>th</sup> day	...	Gad and Asher
6 <sup>th</sup> day	...	Dan and Naphtali (22)

This tribal order does not appear elsewhere in ancient Jewish literature. This list of offerings to the temple originally restricted itself to Levites and the tribes of the Judean exile, Judah and Benjamin. Jacob Milgrom states that the new complete list fits well with the communal nature of the Qumran sect. For this group, the privilege of donating temple wood is no longer restricted, but available to all tribes. (23) Because of this shared text between the two scrolls, White Crawford suggests that the *Temple Scroll* used 4Q365 as source ma-

(17) 4Q365 23.9.

(18) Jacob Milgrom, "Qumran's Biblical Hermeneutics: The Case of the Wood Offering," *RdQ* 16 (1994): 449-56.

(19) 4Q365 23.4.

(20) Moshe J. Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy in the Qumran Scrolls: Categories and Functions," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphia in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January 1997* (ed. Esther Chazon and Michael E. Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 12.

(21) An example of convenient pseudepigraphy in 4QRP is the Song of Miriam in 4Q365, 6a-6c ii.1-15; Bernstein, "Pseudepigraphy," 11-12.

(22) White (Crawford), "Preliminary Report," 225-27.

(23) Milgrom, "Biblical Hermeneutics," 453-54.

terial on the evidence that the former is a more complex, openly ideological reworking of the Torah. (24) Such a declaration certainly implies authoritative status of *4QRP*.

All of these correlations signal the close affinities between *4QRP* and the *Temple Scroll* in their content of biblical text plus additions. (25) Such a connection reinforces the concept of *4QRP* as a proto-sectarian work with muted ideological influence.

#### 4. Affinities to *Jubilees*

*4QRP* also has connections with *Jubilees*, which though not a text written at Qumran, the presence of at least fifteen copies and the *Damascus Document's* reference to *Jubilees* substantiates its authoritative status within the community. (26) These connections go be-

(24) Sidnie White Crawford, "The Rewritten Bible at Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran* (ed. James Charlesworth; N. Richland Hills: Bibal Press, 2000), 188-89.

(25) These exclusive connections between the two scrolls concerning festivals compel some scholars to place *4Q365* 23 with the *Temple Scroll*. Yigael Yadin (*The Temple Scroll, Three Volumes and Supplement* [rev. Eng. ed; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983]) published this fragment along as a part of the original *Temple Scroll* publication, a connection that Ben Zion Wacholder ("The Fragmentary Remains of 11QTorah (Temple Scroll)," *HUCA* 62 [1991]: 1-116) later confirmed. Contrary to Yadin's assessment, John Strugnell identified the content and paleography of the fragment to the rest of *4Q365* in assigning it to Tov and White (Crawford), with his preliminary description of "a wildly aberrant biblical text;" see Ben Zion Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran. The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 8; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), 205-6. Michael O. Wise (*A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* [Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations 49; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990], 50, 58-59) suggests that this fragment belongs to a "proto-Temple scroll." Hartmut Stegemann ("The Origins of the Temple Scroll," in *Congress Volume Jerusalem 1986* [ed. John A. Emerton; VTSup 40; Leiden: Brill, 1986], 237, 253) argues that the fragment is indeed a part of *4QRP*, but that this composition must have been a source for the *Temple Scroll*. More recently, Florentino García Martínez (New Perspectives on the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism* [ed. Florentino García Martínez and Edward Noort; VTSup 73; Leiden: Brill, 1998], 245) suggests that the document is part of *4Q365*, though he hesitates to speculate on the exact relationship with the *Temple Scroll*. After their extensive study of *4QRP*, Tov and White (Crawford) give the most persuasive defense of placing fragment 23 with the rest of *4Q365* based on the direct reference to Moses (unlike the *Temple Scroll*), the absence of direct textual overlap and a crease in fragment 23 at the precise angle of a crease in *4Q365* 12b iii. For a comprehensive argument on placing fragment 23 within the rest of *4Q365*; see Tov and White (Crawford), *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 293-96; also White Crawford, "Three Fragments," 261-65.

(26) Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, several scholars, most notably R.H. Charles (*The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English with Introductions and Critical and Explanatory Notes to the Several Books* [2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913] 2. 831-32), identified this citation of *Jubilees* based

yond their similar genre of rewritten pentateuchal text. The above-mentioned allusion to the wood festival in 4Q365 23 likely refers to a specific passage in *Jubilees*, “Be careful about the (kinds of) woods (that are used for) sacrifice so that you bring no (kinds of) woods onto the altar except these only: cypress, silver-fir, almond...of these (kinds of) woods place beneath the sacrifice on the altar ones that have been tested for their appearance.” (27) The passage continues to describe other qualifications for the wood of the altar, then an exhortation to “Pay attention to this commandment and do it, my son, so that you may behave properly in all your actions.” (28) Thus, the explicit reference to the wood festival appears to unify 4QRP, the *Temple Scroll* and *Jubilees* against the MT pentateuchal tradition.

Most significantly, in two distinct places, 4QRP shows particular concern with expanding the role of Israel’s matriarchs in a way similar to *Jubilees*. First, the additions of 4Q364 3 ii.5-6 contain material parallel to *Jub* 27:13-18 concerning Jacob’s departure from his parents:

4Q364 3 ii.5-6

1. him you shall see...
2. *you shall see in peace*...
3. your death and to your eyes [...lest I be deprived of even] (29)
4. the two of you. And he [Isaac] called [to Rebekah his wife and told]
5. her all [these] wor[ds]...
6. after Jacob her son [and she cried... (30)]

*Jub* 27:13-18

After Jacob had set out to go to Mesopotamia, Rebecca grieved for her son and kept crying. Isaac said to Rebecca, ‘My sister, do not cry for my son Jacob because he will go safely and return safely. The most high God will guard him from every evil and will be with him because he will not abandon him throughout his entire lifetime. For I well know that his ways will be directed favorably wherever he goes until he returns safely to us and *we see him in peace*. Do not be afraid for him, my sister, because he is just in his way. He is perfect; he is a true man. He

on the Cairo Geniza fragments of the *Damascus Document*. A fragment of 4Q228 also makes an explicit reference to *Jubilees*; James C. VanderKam and Jozef T. Milik, “4QText with a Citation of *Jubilees*” in *Qumran Cave 4 VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. Harold Attridge et al.; DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 177-86. For a recent contrarian viewpoint on this citation, see Deborah Dimant (“Two ‘Scientific Fictions’: The So-Called Book of Noah and the Alleged Quotation of *Jubilees* in CD 16:3-4,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint* [ed. Peter W. Flint et al.; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006], 230-49).

(27) *Jub* 21:12-14; unless noted all *Jubilees* translations from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 2 vols, (Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1989).

(28) *Jub* 21:15.

(29) Lacuna reconstructed by *Gen* 27:45.

(30) Tov and White (Crawford), *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 207.



will not be abandoned. Do not cry.’ So Isaac was consoling Rebecca regarding her son Jacob, and he blessed him. (31)

Such an addition of biblical text does not exist in any known textual witness to Genesis. This material does not have any explicit ideological function, though it gives a personal, emotional element to the farewell to Jacob. Instead of the silent husband of the MT, Isaac in both *4QRP* and *Jubilees* comforts his grieving wife. Betsy Halpern-Amaru suggests that *Jubilees* consistently carries this theme of a deeper emotional bond between patriarch and matriarch. (32) Regardless of the function, this overlap prompted White (Crawford) to initially consider *Jubilees* as a potential source for *4QRP*. (33) More recently, she decides that the opposite appears more probable — that *4QRP* served as source material for the authoritative *Jubilees*. (34)

Second, *4QRP* makes note to emphasize Sarah in the genealogical record of Isaac, inserting the phrase אֲשֶׁר יָ»[לְדָה] לוֹ שָׂרָה אִשְׁתּוֹ (‘‘whom Sarah, his wife, [bore] to him’’) between the mention of Abraham as Isaac’s father and his age of forty years. (35) As in the case of the other additions, the Qumran copyist inserted this line without any indication that this expansion was peripheral to the actual text. This detail highlights the importance of matrilineal descent as the genealogical role of Sarah receives equal attention as Abraham. James VanderKam shows that such matrilineal concern also appears in *Jubilees* to prove the purity of the chosen line and the negative consequences when a person married outside of that line. (36) *4QRP*’s identification of Sarah as ‘‘Abraham’s wife’’ matches well with her role in *Jubilees*, as Halpern-Amaru writes, ‘‘The rewriting demonstrates a particular concern for the characterization of Sarah. Responding to the multiple roles attributed to her by the *Genesis* writer, *Jubilees* emphasizes a single identity by repeatedly identifying her as ‘the wife of Abraham.’’’ (37) This addition to *Genesis* 25:20 is particularly significant in that it forms the crucial connecting verse between Abraham and the Isaac / Jacob narratives. Thus, Sarah’s expansion in *4QRP* parallels the redactional strategy of *Jubilees* concerning women in the biblical text.

(31) Tov and White (Crawford), *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 207 point out this connection. VanderKam translates the literal Ethiopic phrase ‘‘we see him in peace’’ into ‘‘he is safe.’’ VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 2.173.

(32) Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (SJSJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 60.

(33) White (Crawford), ‘‘4Q364 & 365: A Preliminary Report,’’ 219.

(34) White Crawford, ‘‘Rewritten Bible,’’ 188-89.

(35) *4Q364* 1a-b:3.

(36) James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 114-15.

(37) Halpern-Amaru, *Empowerment of Women*, 48.

These similarities are particularly noteworthy since most appropriations of biblical women in the Second Temple period, and even post-Second Temple literature are not expansive but rather reductive! (38) Even in *Jubilees*, Eileen Schuller notes that the expansive material concentrates on the matriarchs, yet practically ignores the women of the exodus. (39) In light of the strong closeness between *4QRP* and *Jubilees*, one must include both works as part of a larger body of texts that seem to have influenced the community's thinking in both its formation as well as in its later development.

## 5. Qumran Scribal Practice

The proto-sectarian evidence of *4QRP* merits consideration of its scribal features. Specifically, *4QRP* uses standard Qumran orthography and morphology in contrast to the biblical texts of the Samaritans and the Masoretes. (40)

- *4QRP* spells the independent personal pronoun הַמָּה twice and never uses the short form הֵם. (41) In both cases, the MT and the Samaritan Pentateuch use הֵם.
- *4QRP* has seven uses of the long form הוֹאֵה, replacing the short form הוּא in the MT and Samaritan Pentateuch. (42) There are only two certain examples of the short form in *4QRP*. (43)
- *4QRP* has two uses of the long form הִיאֵה, and one use of the short form הִיא. (44)

(38) See studies by Theodore Friedman, "The Shifting Role of Women, From the Bible to the Talmud," *Judaism* 36 (1987), 479-87; Tal Ilan, *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (TSAJ 76; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999); Eileen Schuller, "Women of the Exodus in Biblical Retellings of the Second Temple Period," in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel* (ed. Peggy Day; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 178-95.

(39) As a whole, *Jubilees* certainly commits more space to *Genesis* traditions, but even in concise summation, *Jubilees* devotes substantial material to expanding the *Exodus* account of Moses' father, Amran (46:9-10; 47:1; 47:9); see Schuller, "Women of the Exodus," 183. This expansive tendency in *4QRP* and *Jubilees* does not necessarily translate into an "empowerment" of women, nor any sort of nascent biblical feminism. More likely, a high concern with purity through genealogical lineage motivates these additions.

(40) Though the determination of Qumran scribal practice is controversial, this paper accepts Emanuel Tov's methodology for identifying specific Qumran scribal features; see Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

(41) *4Q365* 35 ii.2; *4Q365* 2.9.

(42) *4Q364* 24a-24c i.6; *4Q365* 12b iii.6; *4Q365* 32.5; *4Q365* 32.6 (2x); *4Q365* 32.7; *4Q365* 32.14.

(43) *4Q364* 26b i.3; *4Q365* 7 ii.2; a possible short form appears in *4Q367* 3 i.7 though the letter is broken.

(44) *4Q365* 32.5; *4Q365* 32.7; short form appears in *4Q367* 3.11.

- *4QRP* uses the adverbial particle שמה five times versus twice without the final *he*. (45) In the five long instances, both the MT and the Samaritan Pentateuch use the short form שם.
- *4QRP* has three examples of the long form אבירהו. The short form never appears in *4QRP*. The MT and the Samaritan Pentateuch use the short form. (46)
- *4QRP* exclusively uses אשר and never the colloquial –ש even within the nonbiblical material. (47)

In his recent comprehensive study on Qumran scribal practices, Tov classifies the main scrolls of *4QRP* as products of the Qumran scribal schools according to these orthographic characteristics, along with other categories such as correction systems, guide dots, scribal interventions and intervention frequencies. (48) The assertion of

(45) Two of these long-spelling examples have the final *he* partially reconstructed with reasonable certainty considering the spacing (*4Q365* 6a, 6c ii.11; *4Q365* 32.11), the other examples have a fully legible *he* (*4Q364* 27.4; *4Q364* 30.6; *4Q365* 31a-31c.6). Both examples of the short spelling are questionably reconstructed (*4Q364* 17.1; *4Q365* 32.13).

(46) *4Q364* 11.4; *4Q364* 31.1; *4Q365* H.1.

(47) For example, *4Q364* 1a-1b.3; *4Q364* 30.2. These orthographic techniques are similar to many other texts in Qumran, but this in itself is ideologically significant. William Schniedewind's ("Qumran Hebrew as Antilanguage," *JBL* 118 [1999]: 235-52) theory of Qumran Hebrew as antilanguage explains these orthographic variances in terms of sociolinguistics. He draws on the work of anthropological linguists to show that orthography, forms and script can have ideological meaning. Thus, in the attempt at adding hyper-classicisms as elongated forms, the Qumran community sees itself as going back to the language of God, and against the standard oral vernacular. As a corollary, the Pharisees, who adhered to oral law as authoritative, wrote their sacred texts in spoken vernacular, later appearing in written form as Mishnaic Hebrew. Schniedewind gives a more comprehensive list of Qumran Hebrew features that signal antilanguage besides orthography such as avoidance of Aramaisms and colloquial speech, classicizing tendencies such as the 3mp imperfect form יקטורו, and code words. In a para-scriptural work like *4QRP*, orthography is the best signal for antilanguage since it can appear in both the biblical and non-biblical text; see also William M. Schniedewind, "Linguistic Ideology in Qumran Hebrew," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. Takamitsu Muraoka and John Elwolde; STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 245-55; Jan Joosten, "The Knowledge and Use of Hebrew in the Hellenistic Period: Qumran and the Septuagint," *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. Takamitsu Muraoka and John Elwolde; STDJ 26; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 115-30.

(48) Specific characteristics of *4QRP* scribal format include guide dots, paleo-Hebrew spelling of the Divine Name, dicolon before the Divine Name, large writing blocks, regular margins, replacement letters above cancellation dots, nonfinal forms in final position, spaces between successive books, stichographic layout for poetic texts. Whereas Tov asserts *4Q364-4Q365* and *4Q158* to reflect Qumran scribal traditions, he dismisses *4Q366-4Q367* as literary compositions from outside the community. However, the fragmentary nature of the latter two manuscripts prevents any definitive conclusions. For example, *4Q366-4Q367* does not have a single, clear intact instance of either a long or short form of הוּא, אבירי, אחרי, שם, or הם; see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 277-83.

Qumran provenance is significant because Tov admits to the creative nature of scribal activity in Qumran, "Many scribes actually took an active role in the shaping of the final form of the text." (49) Certainly, one can expect such scribal additions and edits, though seemingly minor, to reflect the sectarian usage of the community. In fact, Tov observes that most of the biblical and nonbiblical texts show a large amount of scribal intervention. (50) This closer look at the scribal practices of *4QRP* compels Tov to shift his view from the initial publication, and classify *4QRP* as a possible sectarian work. (51) Therefore, in light of the arguments for Qumran Hebrew as anti-language, the long spellings and attempts of archaisms within the text support a particular ideology. The Qumran scribal characteristics support the use of textual reworkings, which reflect a proto-sectarian ideology. (52)

## 6. Additional Considerations and Broader Implications

Two additional considerations deserve merit. First, the extant manuscripts make up a miniscule portion of the entire scroll, which covers the complete Pentateuch. On the basis of the ratio between known fragments and the length of the MT, John Strugnell estimates the completed document of *4QRP* to reach twenty-five meters, and Tov more cautiously suggests from twenty-two to twenty-seven meters. (53) Considering so much lost text, the argument of silence is not particularly compelling in declaring the non-sectarian nature of the scroll. In other words, the fact that *4QRP* does not have an explicit addition comparable to the Samaritan Pentateuch's extra-biblical commandment to build an altar at Mount Gerizim does not disqualify the document as a strictly non-sectarian work. Second, the idea of sectarian variants in scriptural or para-scriptural works is itself problematic. Eugene Ulrich recognizes that if a particular Second Temple group deliberately edited a scriptural text to advance their own ideology, other groups could immediately refute these claims: "This does not mean, of course, that no ancient scribe ever made a sectarian variant; but it does mean that intentional sectarian-moti-

(49) Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 8.

(50) Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 253.

(51) Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 272.

(52) In critiquing Tov's methodological approach, D.H. Kim ("Free Orthography in a Strict Society: Reconsidering Tov's 'Qumran Orthography,'" *DSD* 11 [2004]: 72-81) calls for a more fluid understanding of orthographic practice in Qumran scribal schools based on the short spellings of the sectarian works, *Manual of Discipline* (4Q258, 4Q264) and the *Damascus Document* (4Q270). Yet Kim still recognizes that, "The majority of sectarian scrolls were written in what Tov calls, 'Qumran orthography.'"

(53) Tov and White (Crawford), *Qumran Cave 4.VIII*, 192.

vated alteration of Scripture would not be a problem-free action and therefore that a scholar making such claim would need clear and thorough-going proof.” (54) Accordingly, these subtle scribal variants in *4QRP* fit the late Second Temple context of a group attempting to find legitimacy among the multiple strands of Judaism.

Therefore, the preliminary assertion of *4QRP* as non-sectarian, and merely another textual strand requires further investigation and modification. Suspicious textual emendations, affinities with the *Temple Scroll* and *Jubilees* and evidence of Qumran scribal practice suggest some degree of sectarian influence in *4QRP*. On a broader scale, this study implies that a clear division between sectarian and non-sectarian documents simply does not exist. As sociologists have demonstrated, describing a sect is not a straightforward matter and better done along a scale of multiple dimensions. (55) Accordingly, instead of pointing to the two extremes of sectarian and non-sectarian, it may be more helpful to look at a continuum based on how much of the Qumran ideology makes its way into each particular text. (56) A more complex paradigm undoubtedly requires more effort, but will better account for the study of variants within the biblical texts at Qumran and their relation with the other manuscripts and the sect. In other words, today’s scholars will have to navigate between the sacredness of the texts and ideologies of the particular community, much like the Qumran scribes when they learned how to rewrite Torah.

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(54) Eugene Ulrich, “The Absence of ‘Sectarian Variants’ in Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran,” in *The Bible as a Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 181.

(55) Jokiranta, “Sectarianism,” 228-31.

(56) Recent studies place *4QRP* in the middle of a continuum in terms of both its biblical status and its authoritative nature; for the former, see Molly Zahn, “The Status of 4QReworked Pentateuch: Methods and Limitations,” 2006 Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting (Washington D.C.); for the latter, see Dwight D. Swanson, “How Scriptural Is Re-Written Bible?” *RdQ* 83 (2004): 407-27.

# THE DEVELOPMENT OF QUMRAN LAW

## *Nistarot, Niglot and the Issue of “Contemporization”*

### *Summary*

The study comprises two associated parts. a) The philological meaning of the terms *Nigleh* and *Nistar* and their application in Scripture and Qumran literature are analyzed, and a novel conception is postulated with respect to the classification of two types of knowledge: *Nistar*, esoteric, revealed to particular elected persons, and *Nigleh*, attainable by dedicated endeavor of devout persons. b) The strict adherence of Qumran to scriptural ideology and utterances, and the close relationship of its mindset and theology with the rabbinic equivalents are discussed and corroborated. Consequently, the study contests the allegation that according to Qumran's theology the Torah has been modified and developed over time, and would continue to change.

### *Sommaire*

L'étude comprend deux parties associées: a) Le sens philologique des termes *Nigleh* et *Nistar* et leur application dans la Bible et à Qumran est analysé, et une conception originale est postulée par rapport à la classification de deux types de connaissance: *Nistar*, ésotérique, révélé aux personnes élues particulières, et *Nigleh*, réalisable par la tentative dévouée de personnes pieuses. b) L'adhésion stricte de Qumran à l'idéologie et les déclarations bibliques et la relation proche de sa façon de penser et sa théologie avec les équivalents rabbiniques est discutée et confirmée. Par conséquent, l'étude conteste l'allégation qui selon la théologie de Qumran la Torah a été modifiée et a été développée progressivement, et continuerait à changer.

## 1. Qumran Legal Development and the Issue of Revelation

THE issue of legal development at Qumran is far from straight forward, given in particular the references to revelation in this literature, as well as to “hidden matters” (*nistarot*) and “revealed/uncovered matters” (*niglot*). Did “new” law develop at Qumran through a process of revelation to a select few? If so, was the use of exegesis completely precluded?

Scholars, in particular L.H. Schiffman and J. Maier, have put forward various propositions in answer to these questions. Schiffman, in certain earlier works, (1) had outlined a general scheme of Qumran theology and how it related to the development of their law. He attributed to Qumran “the changing of the law in accord with stages of history,” (2) and a belief in “progressive change.” (3) As far as I know, this suggestion of an ongoing process of change in the law has not been debated or contradicted. Schiffman has recently elaborated upon this idea in a separate article, (4) in which he cites various quotations from Qumran literature in support. He argues that the “Pesherist” maintained that the words of the ancient prophet “actually applied not to his long-ancient past but to the present Greco-Roman period.” (5) Further, this identical method of “contemporization” was also used by Qumran sages with respect to their halakhic exegesis.

Issues of law and prophecy at Qumran inevitably involve the concept of revelation. Consequently, the words נסתר “hidden” and גילה “revealed/uncovered” in Qumran literature have attracted much attention from scholars, regarding both the suggestion of esoteric “hidden matters” and the question of how and by whom these hidden matters were revealed. The translation of *nigleh* as “revealed,” associated with prophecy or a communication from the Deity or other lofty entities, has added an element of mystery to the topic. This concept of “hidden matters” is at the core of the group’s ideology, their distinct halakhah, their internal organization, and their relationship with the general Judean public. While revelation and its relevance at Qumran have been explored in depth, the specific elements that were “revealed” have remained largely unspecified.

(1) L. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden, 1975); *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (Chico CA, 1983).

(2) Schiffman, *Halakhah*, 27.

(3) *Ibid.*, 26.

(4) L. Schiffman, “Contemporizing Halakhic Exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library*, 35–41, eds. K. De Troyer and A. Lange (Atlanta, 2005).

(5) Schiffman, “Contemporizing,” 35.

Schiffman has proposed that the distinction between “hidden matters” and “revealed matters” relates to the process of legal development at Qumran:

According to the Qumran sect, the Law fell into two categories, the *nigleh* (“revealed”) and the *nistar* (“hidden”). The *niglot* are those laws rooted in Scripture whose interpretations are obvious to anyone. The *nistarot*, on the other hand, are those commandments the correct interpretation of which is known only to the sect. The sectarian interpretation of the *nistarot* is the result of a process of inspired Biblical exegesis, a sort of divinely guided *midrash*. Study sessions were regarded as a medium through which God made known to the sect the correct interpretation of His commandments. (6)

J. Maier (7) has criticized Schiffman’s theory, focusing in particular on the assertion that Schiffman has not corroborated the existence of *midrash* in the Qumran community in the sense of “study” or “interpretation.” (8) As a corollary, Maier asserts that Qumran did not use exegesis in developing its law.

I wish to analyze these various interrelated propositions, and to put forward some counter-arguments of my own. First, I will outline a general contextual analysis of the meanings of the terms סֵתֵר and גִּלְיָה in Scripture and Qumran literature, as well as of the term דִּרְשָׁה. My conclusion will be that these terms are highly nuanced, and that their meanings in any particular instance can be derived only from their contexts. I will next argue that Qumran sages did indeed use exegesis in developing their law, and that their literature reflects the same tension between interpretation and the eternality of divine law that is reflected in rabbinic literature. I will further posit that a difference was maintained in Qumran between inspiration, whereby earnest study of the Torah would lead to correct interpretation, and revelation, which was limited to non-halakhic matters and to a select number of people.

Finally, I will question the concept of contemporization. I will argue against the idea that in the eyes of the relevant Qumran authors and community members some of the ancient prophecies did not apply to the prophetic era, but were foretold exclusively for the period in which the Qumran members lived and flourished. I will also contradict the assertion that this method was applied with respect to halakhah. I will argue that the nature of the two genres of divine communications, prophecy and halakhah, are completely different. Even if one concurs with Schiffman’s theory with respect to the prophecies, one cannot agree to his assertion with regard to the halakhot. These are eternal, and independent of time and circumstances.

(6) Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 14-17; see also *Halakhah*, 22-23.



## 2. Contextual Analysis

### 2.1 galah, satar

The term גלה in Scripture has a great variety of nuances, such as, for example: revelation by the Deity (*Gen* 35: 7); the disclosure of a thing hitherto unknown (*I Sam* 9: 15); the discovery of someone's hiding place (*I Sam* 14: 8); the divulging of a secret (*Prov* 11:13); the exposure of the body, in the sense of nakedness (*Exod* 26: 22 -28 in KJV) or sexual intercourse (*Lev* 18: 6); unseemly behaviour (*2 Sam* 6: 20); rolling something away (*Josh* 5: 9); letting something be known, expressed in association with an uncovered ear (*I Sam* 20: 12); an explanation, expressed in association with the eye (*Hos* 2: 12); going into exile (*2 Sam* 15: 19).

The root גלה "to discover/reveal" in Qumran literature also demonstrates a broad range, (9) similar to its use in Scripture; it is associated with נסתרות "hidden things" only in a few instances. In some occurrences it is associated with mysteries, (10) the future, (11) or with well-known rules revealed to, and known, by all of Israel. (12) Other nuances in Qumran writings include: disclosure of something hitherto unknown (*CD-A* III: 13-14); something common and well known (*IQS* V:12); something that was disclosed to the group, but could be disclosed to others (*IQS* V 9-11); (13) something disclosed only for the comprehension of the group (*CD-A* II 2-13); practical explanation of unclear halakhic issues; (*IQS* VIII 15); revelation of future events (*4Q266* Frag 2 I 5-6); apocalyptic issues (*IQpHab* VII 4 -13); ideological doctrines (*4Q266* Frag 2 I 7 and 15).

The term סתר in Scripture has a smaller range of meanings, but here too there are subtle differences in relation to the context, as for example: to hide oneself (*Num* 5: 13); to be away (*Gen* 31: 49); to depart (*Deut* 31: 17); to cover the eyes so as not to see (*Exod* 3: 6). While biblical Hebrew uses the same expression in a variety of contexts, the eminent translator Onkelos, master of both Hebrew and

(7) Johann Maier, "Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation in the Qumran Literature," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of its Interpretation*, Vol I, Part 1 Antiquity, eds. Magne Sæbø et al. (Göttingen, 1996), 108-129.

(8) He also asserts that Schiffman has not corroborated the exclusive relationship of the *niglot/nistarot* to the biblical text, or the use of inspiration for legal interpretation; these issues, however, are not the focus of his essay.

(9) See, e.g., *IQpHab* XI 1; *IQH<sup>a</sup>* XIV 4, XXI 4-5; *4Q259* + *4Q319* II 10-11 (specific moral issues), II 18; *4Q266* Frag 2 II 2 and 14 and others.

(10) See *IQH<sup>a</sup>* IX 21.

(11) *4Q423 (4QInstruction)* Frag 5: 1 seems, from the context, to refer to the future.

(12) See, e.g., *IQS* V 12 and VIII 16.

(13) This use is in contrast to that in v. 12. I will substantiate this statement later in the study.

Aramaic, uses four different Aramaic terms for the translation of the above four verses, each the most suitable with respect to the context. (14) Similarly, the LXX uses three different terms (the same term is used in the third and fourth verses). (15)

In Qumran writings סתר is used to describe vague biblical pronouncements that could be clarified by an appropriate person (*IQS* V11), and to refer to obscure awareness of future and esoteric issues, received solely by revelation to particular individuals chosen by heavenly authority (*4Q266* Frag 2 I 5-6 and *5Q13* Frag 1: 9-13).

The specific term נסתרות “hidden things” appears only sixteen times in all of the published Qumran writings, including repetitions. With two exceptions, these instances refer to mysteries and general topics rather than to details of scriptural precepts, or are undefined. (16) The exceptions are *IQS* V11, (17) and *IQS* VIII 11-12, (18) which apparently refers to “hidden” halakhic topics. In the first text the author accuses those who walk along the path of wickedness of injustice, because “they have never sought nor examined his decrees

(14) The terms, in the order of their citation, are: סתר, כסי, סלק, כבש.

(15) The terms, in the order of their citation, are: κρύψη, ἀποστήσόμεθα, ἀποστρέψω.

(16) *CD-A*: III 14 refers to the revelation of the correct dates of Sabbaths and Holidays; these are cosmological topics and issues regarding the correct calendar, which do not appear in Scripture, and which thus could not be deduced from the study and investigation of the Torah. The solar calendar referred to in *Jub.* 6: 32-38 does not contradict this statement, since its author foresees that this rule will be forgotten (v. 34) and hence must be revealed in an esoteric way.

*IQH<sup>a</sup>* IV 9 is indefinite.

*IQH<sup>a</sup>* XXVI top 14-15 “sealing mysteries and revealing hidden things” refers, as it seems to me from the literary style, to the uncovering of the mysteries, not to details of precepts. It may also relate to general topics, since the general “changing of behaviour” seems to be the result of the revelation of the hidden things.

*4Q266* Frag 2 I 4-6 may seem at first sight to refer to “those who examine precepts,” but further on it states that God will uncover their eyes for “hidden things and they opened their ears and they will hear profound things and understand everything that would happen to them.” (I have changed the perfect tense of the last two verbs in García Martínez’ translation to future.) Those who study the Torah will be rewarded by the knowledge of the hidden future. The correct understanding of the precepts is attained by those who study the Torah intensely.

*4Q375* refers to Moses, and is not relevant to our subject of investigation.

*4Q427* and *4Q463* are repetitions of texts that are cited and discussed above.

*4Q508* and *4Q 512* refer to hidden sins, and are not relevant to our subject of investigation.

*4Q 401*, *4Q 438*, *4Q 509* and *5Q13* are tiny fragments and unsuitable for any speculation as to their character.

(17) We read there: “...who walk in the path of wickedness, for they are not included in his covenant since they have neither sought nor examined his decrees in order to know the hidden matters in which they err by their own fault and because they treated revealed matters with disrespect.”

(18) We read there: “and every matter hidden from Israel but which has been found out by the Interpreter, he should not keep hidden from them.”

in order to know the hidden matters [הנסתרות] in which they err.” It is, however, plausible that the author used this term here for lack of another suitable expression with which to compare “hidden” matters and its opposite, “revealed” matters, the subject of his utterance, without intending to denote undefined halakhot as hidden matters. The same lack of an appropriate term may have been the motive for using סתר in the second occurrence that refers to halakhic issues. Nevertheless, because of the tenuousness of this consideration, I am hesitant to state that the term נסתרות refers exclusively to mysteries and ideological issues, though it is mainly utilized for that purpose.

We observe that the terms *nistar* and *nigleh* do not refer to any definite subject that is hidden or disclosed, nor to whom or when the subject was revealed or from whom it was hidden. It is thus evident that one must consider each citation of these terms on its own merit and in relation to its context, and classify them according to their specific type and issue; one cannot lump them together under a single heading and definition. When a term has many nuances, only the context can establish the correct meaning.

## 2.2. darash

Maier presumes, as I understand the start of his reasoning, that Schiffman’s opinion regarding the use of midrash at Qumran is founded upon the latter’s translation of the term דרש *darash* “in the sense of to study and in the sense of exegesis, a connotation that cannot be proved in lexicographical terms.” (19) While Schiffman did not necessarily build his theory upon this sole foundation, I do agree that from the lexicographical aspect one cannot establish only one particular meaning for *darash*, which indeed has a great variety of meanings. Based on this same argument, however, I also disagree with Maier’s affirmation that the term in the relevant verse expresses the idea of “to ask/request,” and that the verse is referring to inquiring about/seeking the halakhah from the priests. In the same way that Maier objects to restricting the meaning of *darash* to “interpret,” he must not take it in all instances as “to see/inquire” merely because it has this meaning in some verses.

The term דרש has many meanings in Scripture, but in the contexts similar to our subject, such as in *Deut* 13: 15, 17: 4 and particularly *Deut* 17: 9, 19: 18 and *Judg* 6: 29, it must be understood as “to investigate” the facts or the correct law. Further, it is evident in *Ezra* 7: 10 that this leader of the returnees, who served as a model for the Qumran group, “interpreted” God’s law. Similarly, in *CD-A* VI 7, (20)

(19) Maier, “Interpretation,” 114.

(20) This verse refers to the lawmaker who creates the laws. The translators interpret it, perhaps for ideological motives, as “the ruler,” but one cannot escape the

VII 18, (21) 1QS V 11-12 (22) and VIII 11-12 (23) one cannot interpret the term as referring to those who seek the Torah from the priests. Nor can this meaning be adapted to the expression *midrash hatorah* in 1QS VIII 15 (24) and CD-A XX 6 (25) or *midrash me'ashre* in 4Q174 14. (26) In most of the above instances *darash* must be understood as "interpret."

Maier establishes his meaning for *darash* based on the translation of this term in the Targumim with בעי, "to demand/summon."

fact that the root term is חוק "law." Moreover, Isa 54: 16, cited there for its description "he produces the tool," cannot be interpreted as the one who asks the law from the priests, but rather as the one who creates the law. M. Wise, M. Abegg Jr and E Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls, A New Translation* (New York, 1996), 56, have also translated the reference as "the Interpreter of the Law."

(21) In this verse, the star is mentioned as the Torah's interpreter; as in the antecedent note, this does not fit Maier's interpretation.

(22) Their contenders are accused of not having searched for or investigated the correct interpretation of the Torah, and in consequence they erred in their understanding and behaviour. One cannot err if one does not search at all for the law; one errs only when one interprets incorrectly.

(23) As in the antecedent case, one must interpret "he found the correct interpretation." The implication is that others knew the verse of the Torah, it was not hidden from anyone, but they did not understand it correctly or had doubts about its exact meaning. The one who attains the true meaning is commanded to not keep it secret.

(24) F. Garcia Martínez et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden, 1997), translate: "the study of the Law ...in order to act in compliance with all that has been revealed." (All English translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls in this article are taken from this work.) From the context it must be understood that the goal is to perform the law as it is interpreted correctly, by revelation/inspiration from time to time; it cannot be interpreted, as Maier suggests, "to instruct."

(25) Maier discusses at length the expression *doresh batorah* in 1QS VI 6 and interprets it as "to read and also to study." He cannot contend that the term *darash* here means to "inquire" because it has the preposition ב "in", which would not be appropriate for such an interpretation. The term *darash* is used here twice and for two distinct acts, one associated with the learned man who imparts guidance, and one with the members of the Community who receive it; therefore we must interpret the term differently for the giving and for the receiving parties. Further, with respect to the scholar the term relates to the Torah, while for the members of the Community it relates to משפט; their study of the Torah is of a different class, and is called לקרוא בספר "to read in the book [Torah]." These distinctions demonstrate the difference between the scholar's and the public's methods of study; they suggest that the scholar investigates and interprets, whereas the layman just has to read and *lidrosh mishpat*, to ask for the correct halakhah from the scholar who interprets the Torah. (Cf. the expression כמשפטה in CD-A X 14). Garcia Martínez et al. have, in my opinion, correctly translated the term *doresh batorah* in 1QS VI 6 as "a man to interpret the law" in English and "un hombre que interpreta la ley" in Spanish.

(26) The term is cut off here because of a lacuna in the text; it has no clear connection to the antecedent verse, and is definitely not linked to the succeeding. At any rate, the pericope is a collection of Pesharim/interpretations, and one may assume that this verse also points to interpretation; it cannot be associated with seeking the law from the priests, as Maier suggests.

(27) While it is true that Onkelos translates all the Pentateuchal instances of *darash* with *ba'i*, the Targum occasionally has other translations; it is impossible to know why a Hebrew word that evidently has many meanings would be translated with the identical Aramaic term. The LXX does in fact translate the scriptural *darash* with a variety of terms according to the context, (28) a fact that Maier seems to ignore. This great variety in both the Hebrew and the Greek terms again confirms that that we must interpret *darash* on the basis of the context and not assume a general, all-purpose meaning. Maier does seem to make such an assumption, citing *CD-A XIII 5-6* as support for his theory and arguing that the term *doresh* means “unequivocally advising, instructing, enacting.” (29) In fact, my version of this text does not have *darash*, but rather *התורה*; פרוש the simple meaning of the text, which also fits grammatically, syntactically and logically, is, as Garcia Martínez et al. translate: “and the Inspector shall instruct him in the exact interpretation of the law.” Even if Maier’s version does have *darash*, the term *בין* “to understand” also appears in the lemma, and I would thus compare the text to the related verses of *Ezra* 7: 10, in which the term *darash* appears, and *Neh* 8: 7, in which we encounter the term *bin*. In the former it is stated that Ezra “devoted himself to study [*לדרש*] the Law of the Lord” in order to teach it in Israel. The realization of this devotion is recorded in the *Neh* verse, in which Ezra reads the Torah and his assistants “made it understood” [*מבנינים* in *hifil*- i.e. “explained it”] to the people. These two factors are identical to those involved in the process in *CD XIII*: there is one who studies and interprets the Torah and one who explains the outcome of this study to those who have not been instructed. The LXX translates *darash* in *Ezra* as *ζητέω* “to inquire into, to investigate” and the term *bin* in *Neh* as *συντίθημι* “to put together, perceive.” These two acts complement each other. Ezra did not seek or summon the Torah from the priests; he was a scion of the highest priestly genealogy. (30)

(27) Maier, “Interpretation,” 115

(28) The LXX translates the term *darash* in *Lev* 10: 16 as *ἐξζητέω* “to inquire,” the source of our current term “exegesis” — i.e. interpretation; in *Deut* 11: 12 as *ἐπισκοπέω* “to look upon, observe, regard, watch over,” the last the most appropriate in the context; in *Deut* 13: 15 as *ἐρωτάω* “to ask, inquire”; in *Deut* 22: 2 as *ζητέω* “ask about a thing”; and in *I Sam* 9: 9 as *ἐπερομαι* “to inquire of, consult,” the last the most appropriate in the context.

(29) Maier, “Interpretation,” 115.

(30) Maier categorically asserts (“Interpretation,” 118) that the *Sefer Hatorah* cited in *11QT LVI 4* refers to a specific, apparently Qumranic, “Book of Law.” I do not see any compelling reason to presume this. Maier argues that the different wording in this text from that of its parallel in *Deut* 17: 10, in which the term “Torah” does not appear, are indicative of different meanings. However, the term “Torah” does appear in the following biblical verse *Deut* 17: 11, which is, in its greatest part, a

### 3. Was Exegesis Used at Qumran?

#### 3.1 *Halakhah and Revelation*

Further to his philological analysis, Maier contends that Qumran did not use exegesis; all their decisions about the correct halakhah arrived through a type of oracle, “a process of continuous revelation of a Torah, essentially already given as a whole to Moses, but not accessible in its entirety.” (31) He offers support for his theory of prophetic input in the halakhic decisions from *Ant.* IV: 218, where Josephus states that in those cases in which the local courts could not decide on matters brought before them a Jerusalemite higher court, composed of the Gerusia, the High Priest and a prophet, would decide. Josephus, however, does not refer at all to halakhic issues, but to conflicts between people and the issue of delivering “justice.” There are references in his works to some type of prophecy in Judah, experienced by a king/priest and by certain Essenes, but he never attributes to them any prophecy regarding correct halakhot. There are no other sources attesting to the existence of the prophet’s art in that period; Josephus’ references may have been designed to impress the Hellenistic readers for whom *Ant.* was written, as a response to the Greek oracles. Moreover, if the prophet’s function at this court were identical to that of Qumran’s priests, the attendance of the Gerusia and the High Priest would be superfluous, since the prophet’s opinion based on revelation would unquestionably be decisive. In addition, the citation from Josephus is in fact counter-supportive to Maier’s view of a “priestly monopoly” of a “mediating function [to the divine?] to define and to enact what of the ‘hidden’ Torah has to be practiced as ‘revealed’ Torah”; (32) Josephus seems to indicate that the prophet is the personality who has the privilege of revelation, and not the High Priest.

replication of v. 10. It is not odd that the Qumran editor inserted “Torah” in both v. 4 and v. 7, and we should not be tempted to deduce from this duplication the existence of a particular qumranic “Book of Law.” Even if the term “the Book of the Torah” in v 4 were not a stylistic repetition, but referred to a particular book, one would then have to wonder why it was not inserted in the replication in v. 7. Moreover, in the *Deut* pericope in vv. 18 and 19, and in the parallel *11QT* LVI: 21, the term “this Torah” is found, evidently referring to the previous citations of the term. The term “Torah” standing alone can be translated as “the instructions,” as in *Lev* 7: 7 and many other instances. The author of the *Temple Scroll* has thus emphasized, by the double insertion of the term “Torah” and the explicit mention of the Book of Torah, that the rules delivered by the priests and judges are founded upon the divine Torah and not on their personal opinions, and that their decisions are the correct interpretation of the Torah. Just as the verses in *Deut* do not imply that the term “Torah” in v 11 refers to a particular Book of Law; the *Temple Scroll* editor also was not referring to a particular book.

(31) Maier, “Interpretation,” 119.

(32) *Ibid.*

### 3.2 Midrash Hatorah and Oral Torah

Continuing his argument, Maier endorses Schiffman's theory of Qumran's association with the Zadokites, and asserts that the term *midrash hatorah* in *IQS* VIII 15 and *CD-A* XX 6 is the record of the Torah, as enacted under the Zadokites and followed by Qumran. I am puzzled as to how he constructs his theory about the Zadokites' system of deciding, enacting and recording (33) their halakhic decisions, since we have no reliable documentation from this group or about them; the theory seems to be built of speculation on top of speculation. Maier attempts to find an analogy between the status of the Zadokite/Qumran priesthood and the later Rabbis; each group took over the functions of the antecedent priestly institution. I do not disagree with this particular statement; Maier further asserts, however, that the Rabbis, like the Zadokite/Qumranite priesthood, did not necessarily derive their halakhot by exegesis, a statement with which I definitely disagree. It is true that the Mishnah, for various reasons that cannot be elaborated upon here, rarely shows the connection of its halakhot to Scripture and the exegesis used to derive these halakhot, the Midrashe Halakhah and the Gemara, however, both abundantly fulfilled this function. Even when the Tannaim reached their decisions on the basis of their own pre-conceived opinions, they attempted to present these decisions as derived by exegesis.

Maier argues that the rabbinic halakhah, like that of Qumran, became authoritative by the act of proclamation, not by exegesis; this process was "restricted to the 'Oral Torah,' also not necessarily derived by exegesis." (34) He does not specify what he means by "Oral Torah"; I assume he is referring to the rabbinically-instituted rules, called in talmudic language *מדרבנן*, "a decree promulgated by the Rabbis." In that case, however, his statement is incorrect; all the rules of the "Oral Torah" are presumed, according to rabbinic posture, to be the correct interpretation-exegesis of the concise scriptural decrees, transmitted orally by God to Moses at Sinai and then passed on from generation to generation. (35) In fact, as modern scholars

(33) The reference to the Sadducees having a *ספר מרתא* appears only in the scholion of *Megillat Ta'anit*, whose authenticity is more than questionable. In any event, the term *gezerah* "decree" has a wide variety of meanings, including the idea of a harsh or most unfavourable decree (see P. Heger, *The Pluralistic Halakhah*, *Studia Judaica* 22 [Berlin, 2003], 81-87, and especially n. 123); in this instance it unequivocally refers to a specific "book" of punishments. In the scholion it is alleged by the Rabbis that the Sadducees had such a book enumerating the specific execution methods for every transgression, since these rules are not always specified in Scripture. It is alleged that while the Sadducees had a book, the Rabbis derived the appropriate execution methods by exegesis.

(34) Maier, "Interpretation," 119.

(35) See *m. Avot* 1: 1. The Talmud in *b. Eruv*. narrates in vivid detail how the

perceive it, the rabbinically-instituted rules are not elements of the Oral Torah received from God. They are rabbinic decrees, some founded upon exegesis, some on practical considerations and some on preventative considerations. Moreover, the dogma concerning the Oral Torah is a late development; the term itself was coined at the end of the process of promulgating and collecting rabbinic decrees. (36) Against a theory that the rabbinic Oral Torah is not founded upon exegesis, I will quote just one striking example. The extension of the scriptural prohibition to “cook a kid in the mother’s milk” (*Exod* 23: 19), (37) to include in the ban the consumption of any milk product together with any meat product, is unquestionably a rabbinic decree, founded upon exegesis; it is nonetheless stated to be a Torah precept, that is, an element of the Oral Torah. It is only the prohibition against eating milk products with fowl, whose “mothers” have no milk and consequently could not be included in the prohibition by exegesis, that is said to be a rabbinic preventative regulation.

### 3.3 *Moreh Hatzedeq and Moreh Halakhah*

Continuing his discussion of the similarity between the Qumranites/Zadokites and the Rabbis, Maier points to a parallel between *Moreh Hatzedek* of Qumran with *Moreh Halakhah* of rabbinic literature. He does not, however, consider that the Qumran personage is unique, and teaches, or enacts (the term used by Maier), justice, whereas the rabbinic term, according to the relevant sources, is not exclusive; it can refer to any sage, but mainly a rabbinic disciple who delivers a halakhic decision/verdict. The Qumran *Moreh Hatzedek* does not advise or deliver halakhic decisions, in contrast to the rabbinic sage/disciple. I argue that the function of the *Moreh Hatzedek* was not the truthful interpretation of the Torah and the consequent derivation of correct halakhot; these were established by dedicated Qumran scholars, who, as a result of their piety, devotion and persistent commitment, were endowed with the appropriate inspiration. (38)

Oral Torah was in actual fact transmitted by Moses to Aaron, then to Aaron’s sons, to the elders and to all the people.

(36) See Heger, *Pluralistic*, 147, and P. Schäfer, *Studien zur Geschichte und Theologie des Rabbinischen Judentums*, Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Antiken Judentums und des Christentums 15 (Leiden, 1978), 194.

(37) For an extensive deliberation on this decree and its rabbinic extensions, see Heger, *Pluralistic*, 154 – 175.

(38) I discuss the different functions of the Interpreter and the Teacher of Righteousness further in the text.



### 3.4 Interim Conclusion: On the Use of Exegesis at Qumran

I do perceive a similarity between Qumran and the Rabbis, as I have recently argued, (39) in that both derived their halakhot by exegesis. They often reached different decisions, given their distinct philosophies/theologies and dissimilar beliefs regarding the methods by which correct exegesis was obtained. Qumran required divine inspiration, (40) while the Rabbis, in complete contrast, maintained that the Torah was no longer in heaven and it was up to humans to decide the correct interpretation of the Torah. (41)

The polemic *MMT*, which contains many halakhot differing from the rabbinic laws, does not hint at “hidden” halakhot or particular revelations; it emphasizes that it is the Qumran author’s understanding of Scripture, (42) with terms such as “written [in Scripture],” אנחנו חושבים “and we think,” והדבר כתוב “and it is written,” אנחנו אומרים “we say,” ואף כתוב “and also it is written,” כשכתוב “as it is written,” ואף כתוב בספר משה “and also it is written in the book of Moses.” The document concludes with the plea: “We have written to you that you must understand the book of Moses and the books of the prophets,” indicating that they believed that the various differences in their halakhot were the result of a correct understanding Scripture — in academic language, “correct exegesis.”

The *CD* urges the group members “to act according to the exact interpretation of the law” (*CD-A* IV 8), and admonishes those who do not act according to “the exact interpretation of the law” (*CD-A* VI 14). *CD* appeals to the members of the Community “to keep the Sabbath day” (*CD-A* VI 18) and “to set apart holy portions according to their exact interpretation” (*CD-A* VI 20). *CD-A* III 14 accuses opponents of not correctly observing the Sabbaths and Feasts, and we must assume this means that they did not act according to the exact interpretation of the laws. There is no mention of new halakhot; the emphasis is on understanding the ancient texts and their original and correct meaning.

(39) “Qumran Exegesis. ‘Rewritten Torah’ or Interpretation?” *RevQ* 22/85 (2005), 61-87, and more extensively in Chapter 2 of my book, *Cult as the Catalyst for Division*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

(40) The Rabbis, on the other hand, established a universal daily prayer, a plea for knowledge and understanding, as the first supplication of the daily eighteen blessings. A concise version is found in *m. Ber.* 4: 3, instituted for those who are not familiar with reading, while *b. Ber.* 29a has the text that comprises the prayer: “Give us, O Lord our God, the faculty to understand your ways.”

(41) See Heger, *Pluralistic*, 112.

(42) M. Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations,” in *Reading 4QMMT*, 29- 51, eds. J. Kampen and M. Bernstein (Atlanta, 1996), writes, regarding marriage rules in *MMT*: “there is no interpretation of the underlying scriptural text” (p. 35).

We must next explore the method by which the Qumran sages achieved this “correct exegesis.”

#### 4. Inspiration Versus Revelation

##### *4.1 Different Abilities and Functions of the Instructor and the Teacher of Righteousness*

It is evident from Qumran literature, as I understand it, that the Qumran sages achieved most of their “correct” exegesis by intense study of the Torah, and perhaps only in some cases by special revelation to their illustrious leaders. As demonstrated in section 3.4, *MMT* does not mention any particular revelation as the foundation of its exegesis, and the following citations will further substantiate this theory. We read in *IQS* VIII 11-12 that the correct interpretation of the “hidden” understanding of the Torah **לאיש הדורש** “has been found out by the Interpreter” (43) — that is, the virtuous man who studies the Torah and attempts to understand it correctly will have divine inspiration bestowed upon him to attain the correct interpretation. (44) This does not relate to the Teacher of Righteousness, but to any person (45) or group with virtuous intentions who dedicate themselves (46) to the intense study of the Torah, and each community of ten people must have such a man. (47) Not every man has the ability to receive divine revelation, and thus not every group could ensure that they had such an eminent personality in their midst; on the other hand, if every virtuous and pious man dedicated to the study

(43) We read in *IQS* VIII 11-12: “And every matter hidden from Israel but which has been found out by the Interpreter.” The term **לאיש הדורש** was translated/interpreted as “Interpreter” by Garcia Martínez et al., but the literal translation is “the one who studies [the Torah]”; the expression **דורש התורה** appears often in Qumran literature and this meaning is evident in these occurrences. See, e.g., *CD-A* VI 7, VII 18; *IQS* V 20-21, VI 6-7.

(44) For a further discussion of the attributes of the **דורש התורה**, “the one who studies the law,” see section 4.1.

(45) We read in *IQS* I 1-3, regarding the attribute and duties of the **משכיל** “Instructor”: “To seek God with all one’s heart and with all one’s soul: in order to do what is good and just in his presence, as commanded by the hand of Moses.” The phrase “as commanded by the hand of Moses” evidently includes the correct interpretation of the Torah’s laws and their transmission to the community.

(46) We read in *4Q266* Frag. 2 I: “And he has established times of favour for those who examine his precepts and walk on the perfect path. He uncovered their eyes for hidden things.” We also read in *4Q417* 2 I 6: “Day and night meditate on the mystery of existence and seek continuously, and then you will know truth.” This verse does not refer specifically to halakhot, but declares a general maxim that everybody searching intensely and continually for truth and justice in every aspect will be successful.

(47) We read in *IQS* VI 6: “And in the place in which the Ten assemble there should not be missing a man to interpret/study the law day and night.”

of the Torah was able to receive divine inspiration (48) for correct understanding, such study became an obligation and correct interpretation could be attained. (49) Expressions such as “written [in Scripture],” “and we think,” “and it is written,” mentioned above, thus refer to the correct interpretations attained by pious and dedicated Interpreters through divine inspiration, not through revelation.

The fact that Qumran literature accuses those who opposed them of not adequately attempting to attain the correct understanding of the Torah, (50) and of being דורשי חלוקות, “easy/smooth interpreters” who misdirected the assembly, (51) substantiates my thesis that one reaches the correct understanding of the divine commands by intense and continuous study. This statement affirms the Qumran belief that the scriptural commands, given to Moses at Sinai, are precise and defined, (52) but only those who study the Torah continually (53) with

(48) D. Flusser, *Judaism in the Second Temple Period, Qumran and Apocalypticism* (Jerusalem, 2002), 252 -255, maintains that the Qumran group made a subtle distinction between the character of prophetic revelation and that of Qumran revelation, and believed that a constant divine revelation persisted among their group.

(49) We also observe that the author of *IQS* VIII 11-12 uses the term מצא “to find” in connection with previously indefinite halakhot that have been defined by the Interpreter. This term unquestionably indicates the detection of something previously existent.

(50) See text in n. 45.

(51) We read in *4Q169* Frags. 3-4 III: “Those looking for easy/smooth interpretations, whose council will die and whose society will be disbanded; they shall not continue misdirecting the assembly.”

(52) We read in *CD-A* XVI 2: “To return to the law of Moses, for in it all is defined.” The term מדוקדק is derived from the root דק, which means “to beat into small pieces/to powder/ finely ground.” A new term has been created with a plausible connection to the root meaning, which would lead us to understand it as “defined in its fine details.” In Scripture, we encounter only the terms דק and דקה; the first means in some instances “finely ground” (*Exod* 32: 20 and *Isa* 29: 5), as do instances of the second term, such as in דקה סמים “finely ground incense” (*Lev* 16: 12 and others). Its abstract connotation in the expression מדוקדק suggests “in minute detail.” We encounter the term דקדק in *m. Ber.* 2: 3: קרא ולא דקדק באותיותיה “He read [the Shema — the twice-daily obligatory declaration of faith, *Deut* 6: 4-9] but did not pronounce the letters attentively/correctly [for example, he did not make a break between two words where the last letter of the first is identical to the first letter of the succeeding word; joining בכל לבבך, for instance, he swallowed one ל].” There is a dispute as to whether one has fulfilled his obligation to recite the Shema in such a case. Here the term refers to an incorrect, inattentive pronunciation. The positive connotation of מדוקדק therefore suggests “understanding something as exactly defined.” It is interesting that Schiffman translates this term as “everything is specified” (*Halakhah*, 33); this translation would support my thesis, and contradict his thesis of new laws.

(53) We read in *IQS* VI 6-7: “And in the place in which the Ten assemble there should not be missing a man to interpret the law day and night, always, one relieving another. And the Many shall be on watch together for a third of each night of the year in order to read the book, explain/investigate the regulation.” A similar command to study the Torah continually is found in *4Q385<sup>b</sup>* Frag. 16 II 8.

all their heart and soul (54) understand it perfectly. The members of the Qumran community believed that they performed this task and attained the correct interpretations, but that their adversaries, who failed in their duty to study the Torah with such assiduous effort and devotion, (55) interpreted Scripture erroneously (56) and caused the people to go astray. (57) These adversaries are accused of failing to do something that they were able to do; one cannot be accused of failing to perform something of which one is incapable. (58) Revelation is not given to everybody; it is an extraordinary divine bestowal.

The author of *MMT* discerns between the error of those people who did not attempt arduously enough to understand the Torah, and those who defiantly disobeyed the Torah. A significant declaration in *IQS* V:11-12 indicates the exact nature of failing to correctly understand the Torah precepts; it substantiates the thesis that everyone is able to do this, and that one who fails to do this is considered guilty of wrongdoing. We read there: "...who walk in the path of wickedness, for they are not included in his covenant since they have neither sought nor examined his decrees in order to know the hidden matters in which they err by their own fault and because they treated revealed matters with disrespect." The addition of the term *לאשמה*, translated by Garcia Martínez et al. as "by their own fault" and which I have termed "guilty," as the term in Scripture is generally translated, relates to the commission of a wrong. (59)

The author of *IQS* distinguishes those who know that something is prohibited but transgressed this prohibition due to inattention: We read in *IQS* IX 1: "Because for one sin of oversight he will be punished two years"; the justification for this punishment follows: "only someone who sins through oversight shall be tested for two full years with respect to the perfectness of his behaviour."

(54) *IQS* I 1-3. See text and translation in n. 45.

(55) *IQS* V11. See text and translation in n. 17.

(56) There are numerous accusations against the *דורשי חלקות*; I will quote one of the many more extensive citations, in *IQH<sup>a</sup>* XII 9-11: "But they are mediators of fraud and seers of deceit, they have plotted a devilish thing against me to change your Law, which you engraved in my heart, for flattering teachings for your people (בחלקות לעמכה)."

(57) We read, for example, in *IQpHab* X 9: "The Spreader of the Lie, who has misdirected many." We read in *CD-A* V 20: "And in the end of the devastation of the land there arose those who shifted the boundary and made Israel go astray."

(58) It results from *IQS* IX 16-17, *4Q258* VIII 1-2 and *4Q 259 + 4Q319* (*4QS<sup>c</sup>*) that only the ethical, catechistic teachings inculcated by the *Maskil* must not be divulged to the Qumran opponents; this prohibition does not apply to the correct rules that are attained by the Interpreter in his studies (see n. 61).

(59) See, e.g., *Gen* 26: 10, referring to a man having intercourse with a married woman, and *Gen* 42: 21, referring to the severe wrongdoing of Joseph' brothers in selling him to the Ishmaelites; both are actions punishable by death (*Exod* 21: 16).

In rabbinic law, an “unintentional transgression” can be of two types: a) the transgressor did not know the law, for example that it is prohibited to eat a certain type of fat, and ate such fat; and b) the transgressor knew that eating a certain type of fat is prohibited, but he did not identify the fat before him as included in the ban and consumed it. As a further example of a), the transgressor was unaware that a particular action is prohibited on Sabbath; while for b) he was not aware that it was the Sabbath. According to rabbinic regulations, both transgressions are equally considered שגגה “unintentional,” and each transgressor must bring a sin offering. (There is a subtle distinction regarding the number of offerings he must bring if he repeats the transgression, but this is a matter which does not concern us here.) Qumran, on the other hand, accused their opponents of failure to find out the correct halakhah; not knowing the law was not a legitimate excuse. The text explicitly emphasizes that these opponents “walk in the path of wickedness” because they failed to search out the correct interpretation of the Torah; this is their guilt. In contrast, the man who transgressed a law in *IQS* IX 1 did know the law, but transgressed due to inattention; he will be observed so as to test his behaviour rather than to teach him the law. The latter is deemed שוגג “an unintentional transgressor,” whereas those who did not attempt to find out the correct law do not enjoy this leniency; they “erred” תעו and are לאשמה “guilty [for their inexcusable error].” (60) This difference in attitude and the severity of the accusation emphasize everyone’s ability to know the correct halakhah; failure to do so is not classified as an innocuous, unintentional sin, but as real guilt.

#### 4.2 The Use of Revelation

Only in some particular instances was it the Teacher of Righteousness who provided the correct interpretation of halakhot; the revelation of hidden mysteries, such as the future, the time of the eschaton (*IQpHab* II 6-10), mysteries of man’s existence (*IQS*, especially in IV 6, IX 18, XI 3-5; *IQH<sup>a</sup>* IX 21, X 13, XII 27-28), not of halakhot, was his main and regular function. There are no explicit citations that connect the Teacher of Righteousness with the revelation of the “hidden laws.” The title מורה הצדק does not suggest that his leadership involved the teaching of the correct halakhot. (61) There

(60) See n. 143.

(61) The term הלכות for definitive laws is a rabbinic term, but its root, the term הלך, is used in Qumran literature, in a different grammatical structure, for the same purpose. See n. 83 on this issue. As we have seen from the many quoted citations, discerning the correct laws was attributed to members of the community who dedicated themselves intensely to the study of Scripture. In addition, we find the priests as a defined group who teach the correct laws, as in *IQSb* III 22-23, and in *4Q* 375 in which the High Priest is mentioned, parallel to *Deut* 17: 8-13. *11QT* LVI 1-11 repeats

are three different titles used for Qumran's leadership, each with a distinct range of functions: the מורה הצדק, "The Teacher of Righteousness," the leader endowed with divine revelation and authority, who set up the goals of the group and established the correct path to attain them; the משכיל, the "Instructor," (62) The Teacher's deputy;

almost verbatim the deuteronomic text. (There is one exception in *IQ14* frag 8-10: 6-7: מורה הצדק אשר הורה התורה לעצמו "The Teacher of Righteousness who teaches the law to his counsel"; but in this case the term ירה "to teach" appears, which has no connection with revelation, in contrast to the term דרש "investigate" used for topics associated with studying and investigating the Torah to reach the correct interpretation). *CD-A* VI 9-11, which seems to connect the Teacher to the correct law, refers to באחרית הימים "at the end of days," that is, at the eschaton. In most other descriptions of the Teacher of Righteousness, his guidance is either undefined or refers to the arrival of the eschaton. *CD-A* I 11, which states להדריךכם בדרך לבו "to direct them in the path of his heart," may be interpreted as the Teacher of Righteousness passing along the correct halakhot; this does not relate explicitly to revealing the hidden interpretations of halakhot, but could be perceived as general guidance in all respects.

(62) It is not within the scope of this study to discuss the identity of the *Maskil*. From the description of his functions in Qumran literature it seems that they are of a character more akin to those of the Teacher of Righteousness, than to those of the איש הדורש, the Interpreter. I disagree with A. Lange's assertion in *Weisheit und Prädestination* (Leiden, 1995), 146 that the *Maskil*'s functions included halakhic decisions in addition to catechistic and liturgical ones; the latter were the functions of the Interpreter. Lange's support for his assertion from the expression מדרש למשכיל (*4Q258* I 1) is not valid. Without compellingly establishing the exact meaning of the term מדרש here, I would imagine it as what is "demanded" from the *Maskil*, that is, what are his functions, which are subsequently enumerated. The term *midrash* here would correspond to the meaning of the first occurrence of the term דרש in Scripture, in *Gen* 9: 5. The term חוק linked to the *Maskil* in *IQS* IX 12, translated as "regulation," does not refer to halakhot, but implies general obedience to commands. This is obvious from the subsequently enumerated functions in this lemma and in *IQS* V 7 and 20; the expression אלה החוקים has no connection to halakhot in these contexts. See also *4Q* 270 f 7 i 20. All the enumerated functions are of an ethical-catechistic character and have no relationship to halakhic decisions. Similarly, none of the functions of the *Maskil* listed in all his other appearances in Qumran writings are linked to halakhic issues. The common translation of *Maskil* as "Interpreter," which is indefinite, should not prevent us from attempting to define his exact functions from the context in which they are mentioned. The term *Maskil* in *Dan*, cited by Lange, is translated, correctly in the context, as "they that understand" (KJV) and "those who are wise" (NIV). In its translation of *Dan* 11: 33 the LXX uses the term στανεω "to understand/conceive/reflect/consider" (Liddell and Scott), which again suggests the moral and ethical leadership of the *Maskil*; I would assume that he was the spiritual leader of his community, a kind of deputy of the Teacher of Righteousness. He inculcated piety in the community, divulged to them the nature of man, the mysterious and wide-ranging Two-Spirits Treatise (*IQS* III 13- IV 26), and blessed them (*IQSb* I 1, III 22 and V 20). He was probably also the leader of the *Songs of the Sabbath* ceremonies. In *4QS<sup>c</sup>+4Q319* III 6-7, we observe the distinction between the functions of איש הדורש the "Interpreter" (v. 2) that conclude with מדרש התורה "the study of the law" (v. 6) and those of the *Maskil*, starting with the term אלה החוקים and then subsequently listed. A similar division is noticeable in *4Q* 266 f 5 i 17 and f 9 ii 7. See C. Hempel, "The Community and its Rivals according to the Community Rule from Caves 1 and 4," *RevQ* 81 21 (2003), 65-66 on the status of the *Maskil*.

and the **אִישׁ הַדּוֹרֵשׁ**, “the Interpreter” of the Torah’s rules and regulations.

#### 4.3 *A New Proposal on the Meaning of nistarot*

I would like to postulate my understanding of the non-specific expression **נִסְתָּרוֹת**. The translation of this term by Garcia Martínez et al. as “hidden matters,” is useful in a general way, but I propose a classification of these matters into two categories: a) halakhic details of scriptural commands and correct exegesis, which anyone could deduce by passionate and sincere study of the Bible; and b) esoteric issues such as future events (63) and general theological and cosmological topics that have halakhic ramifications with respect to subjects that do not appear in Scripture, as for example the use of a solar or lunar calendar to establish the dates of the holidays. (64) The channels of transmission were also different: the correct interpretation of halakhah was achieved by the help of divine inspiration, while the meaning of the mystical hidden things in the prophecies was revealed by visions to the Teacher of Righteousness. (65) The latter is not associated in Qumran writings with the term **דֹּרֵשׁ**, “to study/investigate” the correct interpretation of the Torah, a term which is used extensively for the interpreter of the law, (66) for studying the Torah, (67) and regarding those who look for easy interpretations (CD-A I 18). The Teacher of Righteousness is active in a different

(63) A. Lange, “Interpretation als Offenbarung, zum Verhältnis der Schriftauslegung und Offenbarung in apokalyptischer und nicht apokalyptischer Literatur,” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition*, 17-33, ed. F. Garcia Martínez (Leuven, 2003), perceives the interpretation of the prophetic books in the Pesharim as a decoding of visions, similar to the revelation of the meaning of dreams. He calls this “a divinatory hermeneutic.” In his opinion, the divinatory interpretation of prophecies is in itself a revelation. The term **פֶּשֶׁר/פֶּתֶר** utilized in these writings has an affinity with the term used in Gen 40 for the interpretation of dreams.

(64) I do not include the rules for the Temple’s construction in this category, since the author of the *TS*, in which these rules appear, intended to bestow upon this text a Sinaitic origin; hence it was not intended as a recent revelation. (see further on this issue section 5.2.1). Though the use of the solar calendar appears in *Jub.* as a consequence of the author’s understanding of the biblical dates counting from the flood, it is not stated to consist of an interpretation of a biblical command.

(65) We read in *IQpHab* II 2-3: “They do not believe in the words of the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God.” This does not accuse their opponents of not accepting the Teacher’s interpretation of halakhah, but of not believing his prophecies revealed to him by the Deity.

(66) We read in *CD-A* VI 7: “And the staff is the interpreter of the law.” This translation of **מַחֲזִיק** is based on the interpretation of the same term in *Gen* 49: 10, but it is evident, from the context and from its root **חָזַק**, that it refers to the lawmaker who creates the laws.

(67) We read in *4Q251*, Frag 1: 5: “to study and to read in the Book on Sabbath.”

domain than the interpreter of the Torah, as is emphasized by the use of distinct terms. (68) This is also evident from *CD-A VI 7-11*, in which the activities of the *מחוקק* “law giver” are separate from those of the Teacher of Righteousness, *יורה הצדק*, “he who teaches justice at the end of days” (v. 11). (69)

#### 4.4 *Interim Conclusion: Halakhic Interpretation Versus Esoteric Revelation*

I have quoted above various Qumran citations substantiating the argument that the ability to correctly interpret the Torah precepts, the first category of *nistarot*, is granted to every Israelite who dedicates himself with all his heart and soul to intense and sincere study of the Torah; divine inspiration will be bestowed upon him in this respect. The true revelation of the second category is bestowed upon particularly chosen people of the group, such as the Teacher of Righteousness. Again, I emphasize that the thesis regarding the first category is substantiated by the accusations against those who “have never sought nor examined his decrees to know the hidden matters in which they err” (*IQS V 11*), and “... have neither thought nor examined his decrees in order to know the hidden matters in which they err by their own fault and because they treated revealed matters with disrespect” (*IQS V 11-12*). These statements unquestionably demonstrate that those accused would have attained the correct interpretation of the scriptural commands if they had seriously attempted to study the Torah; one cannot accuse others of wrongdoing if they have had no

(68) I disagree with Lange, “Interpretation,” who interprets *Sir 39: 6* as representing a “divinatory interpretation,” that is, an interpretation of prophecies attained by revelation. This text reads: “If the great Lord is willing, he will be filled with the spirit of understanding: he will pour out words of wisdom of his own and give thanks to the Lord in prayer” (KJV). I presume that Lange interprets the term “understanding” as meaning some sort of esoteric understanding, but I do not agree with this meaning. While we do not have the original Hebrew text, the (fairly) authentic Greek text should allow us to do a reasonable analysis. The term “understanding” appears in Greek as *σύνεσις* “quick comprehension, intelligence,” nothing to do with esoteric knowledge. We must also consider the qualities and merits of the man who is supposed to enjoy these privileges, as stated at the beginning of the chapter. We read in *Sir 39: 1-2*: “How different is the man who devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High. He seeks out the wisdom of all the ancients, and is concerned with prophecies.” The term “he seeks” appears as *ἐκζητέω* “to enquire”; the term “is concerned” appears as *ἀσχολέω* “to be engaged, occupied,” which I understand as “studying.” The work in general is concerned with wisdom, not esoteric mysteries, and we may say the same of these verses. In *Sir 3: 21-23* it is advised “not to meddle in matters” that are beyond man’s understanding. I see a parallel (accidental, I believe) between the text of *Sir 39: 1* and those of *IQS I 1-2*, *CD-A VI 7*, *VII: 18* and many similar citations.

(69) Although this verse relates to the Teacher and the end of days, the term *מורה הצדק* is extensively used for the Teacher of Righteousness extant in the Qumran period.



chance to be aware of their misconduct. Hence in this view everyone who engages in serious study can achieve the correct understanding of the Torah's decrees.

Insight into particular esoteric issues, however, was revealed solely to the Teacher of Righteousness. In fact, he is only mentioned in connection with general issues, (70) such as the foundation of the group (71) and its leadership, (72) teaching correct ideology, (73) justice, (74) interpretation of prophecies (Pesharim) and mysteries, (75) possibly including cosmological secrets necessary for the establishment of the correct ritual calendar. Further, from the etymological aspect, the attribute **מורה הצדק** "Teacher of Righteousness" indicates this person's function as the founder and teacher of a righteous society, rather than someone who conveys correct interpretations of Scripture. The latter task was assigned to members of the community, as substantiated above. There is thus a division between the "hidden" rules/halakhot that can be disclosed by everybody, and the "hidden" esoteric themes that are attainable only by divine revelation to particular individuals, such as the Teacher of Righteousness.

## 5. Schiffman's Theory of Qumran's Theology and the Development of its Law

We can now approach the next issue of our investigation, intrinsically linked to the earlier topics. As indicated above, Schiffman

(70) In *1Q14 (1QpMic)* Frags 8-10: 6-7 he "teaches the law to his council and to all those volunteering to join the chosen." This refers to the general obligation to teach the law, and does not mention any uncovering of hidden things. Neither **נסתרות** "hidden" nor **גלה** "uncover/reveal" is mentioned. I am not considering here the Teacher's tribulations and struggles with his enemies, since this has no bearing on my study.

(71) In *4Q171 (4QpPs<sup>a</sup>)* III 15-16 states that God "installed him to found the congregation of his chosen ones."

(72) *CD-B* XX 28 and 32 stress the loyalty of the congregation to the Teacher: "to listen to the Teacher's voice" and "to lend their ears to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness."

(73) In *CD-A* I 11-12 his function is to teach the correct ideology and prophesize the future: "to direct them in the path of his heart" and "to make known to the last generation." In *CD-A* II 14-15 he opens the eyes of the members of the group to "see and understand the deeds of God."

(74) In *4Q165 (4QpIsa<sup>a</sup>)* Frags 1-2: 3 he "reveals the teaching of justice." I have changed García Martínez' translation of "just teaching" to what is, in my opinion, a more appropriate interpretation. While it is true that my translation would require a construct state, García Martínez' translation does not at all fit the apparently grammatically incorrect expression. The article with the term **צדק** stresses its significance as a noun, not an adjective. The changing of a **ת** to **ה** in the term **תורה**, as indeed appears in another secondary source, is more plausible than the necessary orthographic changes required to interpret the term as "just teaching."

(75) In *1QpHab* VII 4 we learn that "God has made known to him all the mysteries" of the final age.

maintains that in Qumran's theology there was a perception of a gradual change of the law, in stages, through an ongoing developmental process of revelation to their leaders or scholars. He compares the newly revealed halakhot and their "contemporization" to current circumstances to the predictions of the prophets as interpreted in the Pesharim. Just as the latter were held to be applicable to the Qumran era and not to the period in which they were pronounced by the prophets, so the new halakhot revealed to their scholars/leaders were appropriate exclusively for the period in which the Qumran members flourished.

Schiffman cites several examples in support of his theory of contemporization. I wish to rebut these examples, using various methods. First, I will argue in general that halakhah and prophecy are too distinct in their essence to allow an assumption that the same processes of communication apply in each. I also posit that "comtemporizing" is an inappropriate description for either halakhah or prophecy.

I will then discuss Schiffman's examples in detail. I believe a useful methodology in this case, which I have used elsewhere, (76) is to compare Qumran and rabbinic law. In the matter of principles the rabbinic and Qumranic opinions were similar and often identical; (77) I will therefore cite dicta from the rabbinic homiletic and halakhic literature, which is more comprehensive and explicit than that of Qumran, and compare them with Qumran's often cryptic dicta. This will assist us in deducing a plausible understanding of Qumran ideology. I will argue that the TS rules regarding the plan of the Temple and the distance from the Temple required for profane slaughter are not "new" ordinances, as Schiffman states, and will posit my own theory on the relationship of the TS to the Torah. I will also dispute Schiffman's categorization of the Qumran prohibitions against polygamy and uncle-niece marriage as either "new" or within the category of *nistar*, and will add a philological argument in sup-

(76) *Cult as the Catalyst for Division*, 41-150.

(77) Y. Sussmann, "The History of Halakhah and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Preliminary Observations on Miqtzat Ma'ase Ha-Torah (4QMMT) [Hebrew]," *Tarbitz* 59/ 1-2 (1990), 11-76, writes on p. 70: "The stirring impression that arises from [reading] the MMT is the great relationship with the world of the Sages of blessed memory — a correlation with the language, terminology, in the details of the halakhot and in all their general concepts." A. Shemesh, "Scriptural Interpretations in the Damascus Document and their Parallels in Rabbinic Midrash," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February 1998*, 161 – 175, eds. J.M. Baumgarten, et al. (Leiden, 2000), concludes in his analysis of halakhic rules in the Damascus Document that "they resemble rabbinic midrash halakha, despite the fact that their abstract formulation resembles the style of the Mishnah" (p. 175). See also B. Nitzan, *מגילת פשר חבקוק* (Jerusalem, 1986), 29 – 80, on this issue.

port. I then discuss Qumran's use of a holiness model that is based on the scriptural description of the Israelite camps in the desert; in contrast to Schiffman's view that this is as an example of "contemporizing," I posit a different view of "future" ordinances. Finally, I will posit a philosophical/theological rebuttal to the idea of contemporization.

### 5.1 *The Different Characters of Prophecy and of Halakhah*

I suggest that these two types of divine message are completely distinct in their character and application; what may be appropriate for one cannot be applied to the other. The essence of prophecy is the prediction of future occurrences, such as the calamities that would occur to Israel when they disobeyed the divine commands, or Jonah's prophecy that Nineveh would be overturned after forty days. It is only the extent of the period for which the prophecy was intended, and the correct interpretation, that can be a matter of discourse or dispute; the fact itself, the occurrence of the foretold events, is actual, defined and undisputed. The Pesharim deem the prophecies to be relevant for the eschaton. We encounter identical interpretations in rabbinic homilies, (78) including a rabbinic statement that all prophets prophesized for the days of the eschaton. (79) With respect to Habakkuk, the difference between the rabbinic and the Qumran sages does not have to do with the content of his prophecies; it is limited to the question of whether the eschaton was close, and thus whether the prophecy was relevant to their own time, as the Qumran scholars believed, or the time was not revealed, as the Rabbis believed.

Schiffman applies the label "contemporization" to this type of interpretation of prophetic literature in Qumran, and asserts that in Qumran's view the prophecies, accordingly interpreted in the Pesharim, applied not to the long-ancient past but to the contemporary "Greco-Roman period." (80) I question, first, whether this "contemporization" is as restrictive as Schiffman maintains. The Pesharim author/s undeniably interpreted scriptural prophecies as related to their own time and circumstances, but this does not exclude the possibility that they also correlated the prophecies with other periods. Why, for instance, would Qumran refuse to acknowledge that the prophet Habakkuk indeed also referred in his prophecy to the

(78) We read in Midrash Tehillim (Buber) 77 on *Hab* 2: 2-4: "Therefore it is said 'Then the Lord replied [v. 2].' He said to him [Habakkuk]: I have already revealed the end and the time passed 'because there is still a vision for the appointed time [v.3].' Even if I told you the end, don't say it will not come, but wait for it, as it is said 'though it linger, wait for it.'"

(79) We read in *b. Ber.* 34b "All prophets prophesized for the days of the Messiah."

(80) Schiffman, "Contemporizing," 34.

Babylonians who destroyed Jerusalem: **כִּי הֲנִי מְקִים אֶת הַכַּשְׁדִּים** “for see, I will mobilize the Chaldeans” (*Hab* 1: 6 and *IQpHab* II 10-11)? Such an approach would not prevent them from also declaring in *IQpHab* II 12: **פֶּשְׁרוֹ עַל הַכְּתִיבִים** — that Habakkuk’s universal prophecy was now also appropriate to the Kittim in circumstances similar to those in the prophet’s period. Habakkuk’s admonition that the sins of Judah would lead to havoc served as an eternal model, predicting the same outcome for contemporary sinners. In fact, Jutta Jokiranta (81) understands the motive of the Pesharim as an attempt, by a group facing adversity, to search Scripture for an explanation of its present experiences. As she writes: “Scripture contains the right way of life, so it also speaks to the fate of the contemporary people.” (82) This scholar’s perception of the “actualization” of the Pesharim seems to me more reasonable, since it does not limit the applicability of Scripture to a particular period, and preserves the idea of Scripture’s eternal significance.

Halakhot, (83) in contrast to prophecy, are by nature eternal; nothing can be changed, added or removed, from the time they were promulgated and written in the Torah. (84) Applying the idea of “contemporization” to halakhot — that is, restricting their validity exclusively to a certain period — cannot be done, given the intrinsic nature of Israelite theology. As the laws are divine, given at Sinai, their fundamental values are permanent and perpetually valid; they cannot be changed or abolished due to changing circumstances, transitory theories or particular interests. (85)

(81) Jutta Jokiranta, “Pesahrim: A Mirror of Self-Understanding,” in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library*, 23-34, eds. K. De Troyer and A. Lange (Atlanta, 2005).

(82) *Ibid.*, 25.

(83) The term **הַלְכוֹת** for definitive laws is a rabbinic term, not used in Qumran literature. Though the same root with the identical connotation is regularly used in Qumran, it refers to conduct and is not used as a noun. See, e.g., *CD-A* XII 20-21: “And these are the ordinances/rules for the Instructor (?), so that he walks (**לִהְתֵּלֵךְ**) in them [that is, he obeys the antecedent rules]”; *CD-A* II 15: “to walk (**לִהְתֵּלֵךְ**) perfectly in all his paths [as a general virtuous way of life]”; and *CD-A* III 5, where it refers to a wicked way of life: “they walked (**הִלְכוּ**) in the stubbornness of their hearts.” Since the general concept is identical in rabbinic and Qumran literature, I follow Schiffman in using the term *halakhah* in relation to Qumran rules.

(84) We read in *Deut* 13: 1 and in *11QT* 54: 5-7: “All the things which I order you today, take care to carry them out; you shall not add to them nor shall you remove anything from them.” In *b. Yoma* 80a the Rabbis deduced from *Lev* 27:34 that even a prophet cannot create any new precepts, and there is no reason to assume that Qumran scholars would oppose such an opinion.

(85) See P. Heger, “Source of Law in the Biblical and Mesopotamian Law Collections,” *Biblica* 86/3 (2005), 324-342, p. 342.

## 5.2 Schiffman's Examples of "Contemporization" of the Law in Qumran

### 5.2.1 The *TS* Rules: Temple Construction, and the Concept of רחוק.

Schiffman establishes his theory based on texts of the *TS*, which complements the Torah rules, and cites in particular "new" ordinances that were designated for the Qumran period: the plan of the Temple and the various rules referring to an Israelite monarch. The Scroll author reworked relevant texts from various scriptural sources and created a "modern" (i.e. Hellenistic period) plan for a Temple, suitable for his age. (86) But this type of rule-making does not constitute a contemporization, similar to the way Qumran scholars interpreted prophecies by the Peshar method. As argued in section 5.1, these prophecies were perceived to refer, whether exclusively or not, to the period in which the author or authors of the Pesharim lived and flourished. In contrast, the rules regarding the Temple's construction in the *TS* were eternal; their validity was not restricted to a specific period. It is an *opinio communis* (and there is thus no need to substantiate this with scholarly citations) that the author of the *TS* intended to bestow on this work a Sinaitic origin, to render it equal in its authority to the Torah. Thus the *TS* rules, like those of the Torah, do not refer to a specific time. I do agree with the first part of Schiffman's concluding sentence, on the *TS* author's aim: "placing his own ideas and those of the sources effectively in the mouth of God." (87) I disagree, however, with his succeeding assertion: "in order to present his own views for the present." This author presented these rules as an eternally relevant blueprint for the Temple's construction. (88)

(86) I have paraphrased Schiffman's words, "Contemporizing," 36.

(87) *Ibid.*, 37.

(88) There is a relevant homily in *b. Pesah*. 54a: "Seven things were created before the world was created, and they are: The Torah, [the concept of] repentance [and subsequent forgiveness], Paradise and Hell, the throne of the Presence, the Temple and the name of the Messiah." Hence the plan of the Temple is eternal and was valid from before the creation of the world. *IQH<sup>a</sup>* IX implicitly refers to a similar idea: The virtuous and wicked deeds of mankind are known by God before their creation; they are judged by Torah criteria, and hence the Torah existed before the creation of the world.

The author of the *TS* does not refer to the issue of whether the Temples constructed by Solomon and Ezra were built according to divine commands. It would in fact be odd to assume that he would criticize these two personalities for building the Temple contrary to divine rules. According to *1 Chr* 28: 11-18, David, who was highly respected by Qumran, handed over to Solomon the exact plans for the Temple and its accoutrements, which were received from the Deity (28: 19). Ezra too was revered by Qumran. Hence the Temples built by Solomon and Ezra would likely have been considered legitimate. The *TS* author was not concerned with the problem that the dimensions of these Temples, as recorded in Scripture, do not correspond to his plans. But we should not expect a methodical, comprehensive and consistent philosophy in Qumran literature; rabbinic literature suffers from the same inconsistency. For

A second example relates to the required distance from the Temple precinct where profane slaughter of unblemished animals suitable for sacrifices was allowed. The name "Jerusalem" does not appear in the *TS*, even in *LII* with respect to the required distance from the Temple precinct where profane slaughter of unblemished animals suitable for sacrifices was allowed. This serves as evidence that the author intended to present these rules as given by God at Sinai (89) as a perpetual corpus of instructions, like *Deuteronomy*. This specific *TS* regulation explains and complements the indefinite deuteronomic term רחוק "far". The biblical text has no indication of the locality, implying that the rule was given before the disclosure of Jerusalem as the chosen site, to be applicable in due time when the Temple was built; thus it was valid from the time Solomon erected his Temple and onwards. The *TS* author's disagreement with the rabbinic/pharisaic halakhah on this issue was not a matter of law. Both the Rabbis and the Qumran sages agreed on the principle of the rule's eternal validity; rather, they disagreed on a matter of fact, regarding the meaning of "far."

These rules were not presented by the author as "an up-to-date way of realizing the halakhic requirements of the Bible in his own age," as Schiffman perceives it. (90) Just as the required distance in *IIQT LII* is unmistakably an eternal ordinance, given at Sinai, which would be applicable when the Temple was constructed, so is the Temple construction plan in the *TS*, as well as the other rules cited by Schiffman.

The *TS* instructions regarding the Temple's construction were not applicable at the time of their presumed communication at Sinai, as Schiffman argues, but should be perceived as similar in their character to the many precepts introduced in Scripture by the phrase כִּי

example, in *4Q397* Frag. 14-21: 10-11 the writer attempts to convince his opponent/s of the correctness of his group's interpretation, whereas in *IQS IX* 17, v. 13 the group refer to their revelation: "Not reproach or argue with the men of the pit but instead hide the counsel of the law in the midst of the men of injustice." This is an obvious inconsistency, though we can always argue that the two sources are from different splinter groups or have their origin in different periods.

(89) L. Schiffman, "The *TS* and the Nature of its Law: The Status of the Question," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 37-55, eds. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam (Notre Dame IN, 1994) writes that the *TS* is "a veritable Torah of the Lord." Y. Yadin, *מגילת המקדש* (Jerusalem, 1977), Vol. 1, 71-88, remarks that the divine name is written in the same square script as the "canonical" books of Qumran. Avi Hurwitz, "The Archeological Debate on the Antiquity of the Hebrew Bible in Light of Linguistic Research of the Hebrew Language," in *הפולמוס על האמת ההיסטורית במקרא*, 34-46, ed. Lee I. Levine (Jerusalem, 2001), p. 45, writes that the *TS* is written in classic pentateuchal Hebrew to give the impression that it is of ancient origin, spoken by God, though the author's language of the post-classical period is easily discernible in the text.

(90) Schiffman, "Contemporizing," 36.

תבאו “when you enter [the land of Canaan]” and applicable from that time onwards. (91) These rules became applicable at a certain time, but from this moment onwards were eternal. The instructions for the Temple in the *TS* must be perceived as similar, for instance, to the rule to rub the stone walls of a house in which a person died (*11QT* 49: 12), or which has contracted mildew, cited by Schiffman. (92) Neither of these ordinances was applicable in the desert at the time of their presumed communication at Sinai, for practical reasons: a portable sanctuary was appropriate for this period, as were tents for lodging. But after the Israelites’ settlement, they became applicable and perpetual, not limited to a particular period; they do not bear the mark of “contemporization.” The commandments enumerated in Col II of the *TS* (antecedent to the instructions for building the Temple) that forbid making a covenant with the peoples of Canaan and decree the destruction of their idolatrous sanctuaries were not relevant in the desert, but became applicable and perpetual from the crossing of the Jordan; we must similarly perceive the details for construction of the Temple in the succeeding Columns. The same argument also applies to the law of the king, assumed by Schiffman to have “been transmogrified by this form of contemporizing exegesis into a proposed ideal political order for Hasmonean period Judea;” (93) rather, they were applicable at the time of the institution of the first king in Israel. In utter contrast to, for example, the unmistakable references in the Pesharim to באחרית הימים, which emphasize the particular period, (94) personalities (95) or future events (96) to which these writings refer, the laws of the *TS* are timeless, and bear no indication of referring to a specific period. They were given at Sinai, they were to come into practice at the occurrence of the relevant event, and from that moment onwards were to be eternal; as such, they were applicable both to the Qumran period and outside of it.

#### 5.2.1.1 Is the *TS* a Torah “Replacement”?

Schiffman postulates that the author of the *TS* fused together various sections on one topic, collected from presumed early versions of the canonic scriptural books, presenting the scroll as “a sort of companion Torah to the original canonical text.” I question, however,

(91) We read in *Mek. d’Rabbi Ishmael, Bo, parshah* 12: “Here too it is said ‘when you enter the land’ etc. [*Exod* 12: 25, referring to the Passover offering]. Scripture intends this command to be effective upon entering the land, and from then on.”

(92) Schiffman, “Contemporizing,” 36.

(93) *Ibid.*, 37.

(94) See, e.g., *1QpHab*: II 5-8; *4Q161*: f8-10: 17; *4Q162* II 1; *4Q163* f 4-6 ii 12; *4Q164* f 1: 7; *4Q174* Frag. 1i, 2i, 2: 12 and many others.

(95) See, e.g., *4Q169* Frags. 3-4: 2.

(96) See, e.g., *1QpHab* I 13; II 2, 8, 14; V 11; *4QpIsa*, Frags 8-10: 3 and 11 and many others.

his conclusion that this “points to the whole document as a statement on how God’s original Torah calls on a Jew to live in the troubled times in which the author/ redactor lived.” (97) To quote just one example contrary to this statement, I refer to the “New Festivals” commanded in the *TS*, which do not appear explicitly in Scripture, but are unquestionably intended for eternity, not exclusively for the author’s “present” as suggested by Schiffman.

Schiffman cites, presumably for substantiation, Hindy Najman’s opinion “that the author did not intend to replace the original Torah, only to supplement it.” (98) I do not disagree with this statement, but I do not take it to mean, as Schiffman implies, that the rules of the *TS* were perceived to apply to “the troubled times in which the author/ redactor lived.” Najman writes: “The Pentateuch contains only part of what was revealed at Sinai and that can be properly understood only by those who have access to even more ancient traditions.” (99) These *TS* rules were to apply to all times, from whenever they first became relevant: the instructions for the Temple building in its time and the laws of the king and of war when a king was chosen or a war declared. They are comparable to the scriptural rules for specific holidays, which are in force *במועדם* “at their appointed time” (*Lev* 23: 4), or the rules for the sabbatical year every seventh year (*Lev* 25: 2-7) and the Jubilee year (*Lev* 25: 8-13). These are not “contemporized” rules, though the ordinances of the Jubilee year are in effect only once in every fifty years.

This is, in my opinion, the real meaning of a “supplement”: it explains the often cryptic text of the primary source, the Torah. This approach by Qumran sages parallels exactly the rabbinic approach. As an example, we may observe the relevant rabbinic maxim regarding the rules of the sabbatical year, and its general implication regarding all the Torah laws. We read in Sifra *Behar parashah* 1:

Why [does Scripture emphasize in its introductory verse (*Lev* 25: 1)] that [the rules of] the sabbatical year were given [to Moses] at Mount Sinai, since all the precepts originate from Sinai? [Answer: This teaches us that] just as all the rules and specific minutiae of the sabbatical year were stated at Sinai, so the rules and specific minutiae of all precepts were stated at Sinai.

This maxim refers, as is well known, to all the rabbinic rules that complement and explain the scriptural laws. The phrase *תורה שבעל פה* “Oral Torah” was coined for them; they were considered to have

(97) Schiffman, “Contemporizing,” 37.

(98) Schiffmann, *ibid.*, n. 9, citing Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden, 2003), without indication of page number.

(99) Najman, *Seconding*, 53.



been given to Moses at Sinai and transmitted orally from generation to generation. The difference between the rabbinic and the Qumran view is restricted solely to the mode of transmission. In contrast to the rabbinic maxim that these complementary rules and explanations were handed down by prominent personalities in a long chain of transmission (*m. Avot* 1: 1) (100) and then from generation to generation of Rabbis, Qumran scholars and community members believed that in addition to such transmissions over the centuries, many halakhot still required correct interpretation. Such interpretation was received by their spiritual leaders and learned members of the Community through intense study of the Torah, as I have argued in section 4, or by revelation from the Deity, (101) or through angels, (102) as postulated by others.

### 5.2.2 Qumran's Prohibition of Polygamy and Marrying One's Niece

Schiffman labels the Qumran prohibition of polygamy (*CD-A V* 1-6) as a "new, contemporary, halakhic ruling," (103) and puts this rule within the category of *nistar*. I argue, on the contrary, that the justification for this rule is unquestionably presented in the literature as a primeval law, which was written in Scripture (or in a version of Scripture) (104) and placed in the Ark of the Covenant. (105) Hence

(100) We read there: "Moses received the Torah at Sinai and transmitted it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets transmitted it to the members of the Great Assembly." The succeeding mishnayot record further transmissions to renowned personalities until the period of Hillel and Shammai.

(101) See J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (Leiden, 1977), 29ff. He cites a number of quotations from sectarian writings corroborating his thesis of revelation as the basis for Qumran law. In *Qumran Cave 4 XIII, The Damascus Document*, DJD XVIII (Oxford, 1996), he refers to "progressive revelation" (p. 16). D. Dimant, "The Scrolls and the Study of Early Judaism," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty*, 43 – 59, eds. R. A. Kugler and E. M. Schuller (Atlanta GA, 1999), p. 53, writes that the Qumranites claimed "divine authority also to their own interpretations," without indicating any justification; the Rabbis claimed the same authority, from another perspective. M. G. Abegg, "The Covenant of the Qumran Sectarians," in *Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period*, 81 – 97, eds. S. E. Porter and J.C.R. DeRoo (2003), considers the revelation of נִסְתָּרוֹת "hidden things" in 4Q266 II I 1-6 and 4Q268 frag.1: 1-8 as an element of the renewed covenant with the group (p. 85). The Rabbis did not envisage a renewal of the covenant in their time.

(102) R. Elior, *The Three Temples. On the Emergence of Jewish Mysticism*, trans. from Hebrew by D. Louvish (Oxford, 2004), 205.

(103) *Ibid.*

(104) See Ben Zion Wacholder, "The 'Sealed' Torah versus the 'Revealed' Torah: an Exegesis of Damascus Covenant V, 1-6 and Jeremiah 32, 10-14," *RevQ* 47/12 (1986), 351-368, on the issue of two Torahs.

(105) We read on *CD V* 1-6: "However, David had not read the sealed book of the law which was in the Ark, for it had not been opened in Israel since the day of the death of Eleazar." The text of this lemma is extremely confusing. The meaning of "the sealed book" is ambiguous: was the scroll sealed and not opened until Zadok

this was not a new rule; the original rule revealed by God was not “modified later by His prophets [which?? Qumran or before?]” as Schiffman suggests; (106) it was effective from the time it was given at Sinai, (107) but was not observed from the time of Joshua until Zadok’s consecration to the priesthood, and his opening of the Ark. In this instance, the correct interpretation of the law was not hidden (as an undisclosed secret); the term נִסְתָּר is not mentioned. The Torah was רִטְמוֹן “put away” in the Ark, and the Ark was not opened. The text does not indicate a credible motive for its being put away in the Ark, nor which “Zadok” revealed it. (108)

The term נִגְלָה in *CD-A V*: 5, regarding the hidden copy of the Torah with the prohibition of polygamy must be interpreted as physically “found,” as in 2 *Kgs* 22: 8, which probably served as a model for the author of the *CD*. (109) The *Kings* verse refers to the discovery by Hilkiyah the High Priest of the Book of the Law (assumed to be *Deuteronomy*) in the Temple. It is obvious that the author/redactor of *Kings* (the Deuteronomist) portrayed the book as a writing composed

opened it, or does it mean “it was unavailable,” that is, it was hidden in the Ark? Therefore, we are in doubt as to whether the sealed book/scroll was opened by Zadok, or he opened the Ark and found the book. See Wacholder “Sealed,” 353. I would opt for the book being hidden in the Ark, because this would concur with the narrative regarding the book found by Hilkiyah (2 *Kgs* 22: 5). Though there it is written that the book was found in the House of the Lord, with no indication of where exactly it was found, the *Kings* narrative has more affinity with this interpretation of “the sealed book” than with any other option. Narratives and traditions about hidden artifacts abound in rabbinic literature, and in the Apocrypha. In *t. Sotah* (Lieberman) 7: 18 a declaration is cited that there were two Arks, one that stayed in the Temple and the other that was taken to war. The Torah was placed in the latter, and the two tablets and the pieces of the broken tablets were placed in the Ark in the Temple. In *t. Sotah* 13: 1 it is said that Josiah hid the Ark, and other treasured artifacts: a jar with manna, a vial of the sacred anointing oil (prepared by Moses for the consecration of the Tabernacle and the first priests), Aaron’s staff that had blossomed (*Num* 17: 8) and the chest with gifts sent back by the Philistines with the returned Ark (*1 Sam* 6: 8). 2 *Macc* 1: 19-36 recounts that before going into captivity, the priests hid the sacred fire from the altar, and in 2: 1-5 it is recorded that Jeremiah hid the Tent of the Tabernacle, the Ark and the Incense altar in a cave.

(106) Schiffman, “Contemporizing,” 40.

(107) We read in *CD-A V*: 1-2: “and about the Prince it is written: he should not multiply wives to himself.” Qumran sages, considering the text of *Gen* 7: 9, plausibly extended this prohibition to all of Israel, as both they and the Rabbis did on many other occasions. See G. Vermes, “Bible Interpretation at Qumran.” *Eretz-Israel* 20 (1989), 184-191

(108) It may refer to Zadok the priest who replaced Aviatar by order of Solomon (*1 Kgs* 2: 35). If this is the same Zadok who served under David (*2 Sam* 19: 12), one must assume that he revealed the true version of the Torah after David’s death. It may also refer to the Teacher of Righteousness, meaning that only then, in the Qumranite period, was the hidden book found by this person, a Zadokite priest.

(109) Though in *Kings* the term מָצָא “to find” is used, this is a synonym of “uncover/discover/come across,” and thus it is reasonable to use נִגְלָה for the identical event.

and written by Moses, (110) and its laws were applicable from that time onward. We read in the subsequent verse 2 *Kgs* 22: 13: "Great is the Lord's anger that burns against us because our fathers have not obeyed the words of this Book." A similar pronouncement is found in 2 *Chr* 34: 21. The fact that the Book was hidden did not alleviate the Israelites' sin in transgressing its laws.

In contrast to *CD-A V 3-4*, 2 *Kgs* does not indicate explicitly when the Book was hidden; but from the text of 2 *Kgs* 23: 22, asserting that the Passover laws had not been practised correctly from the period of the Judges, we can assume that the Book of Deuteronomy was hidden at that time. It is still not clear, however, whether the author/redactor meant the beginning of the Judges' era or the end. The parallel in 2 *Chr* 35: 18 states "Since the days of the prophet Samuel," asserting that the correct Passover performance had not been practised from the time of Samuel's death, (111) which may hint that the Book found by Hilkiah was hidden at that time. A similar narrative is found in *Neh* 8: 14 about the Festival of Booths: "They found written in the Law, which the Lord has commanded through Moses, that the Israelites were to live in booths during the feast of the seventh month." Again, the text does not indicate to which book it refers, but the succeeding v. 17 offers an interesting insight: "From the days of Joshua son of Nun until that day, the Israelites had not celebrated it like this." We may plausibly assume that this could also refer to the Book found by Hilkiah, since the name Sukkot, "booths," does not appear in *Exodus*, (112) but only in *Deuteronomy* and *Leviticus*, the later segments of the Pentateuch. But it is also interesting that according to *Neh* the relevant Law was hidden right after the period of Joshua, in contrast to the similar narratives in 2 *Kgs* and 2 *Chr*, from which one could deduce that the hiding of the Book occurred in the post-Judges period. This date leads us to the significant point that the tradition of a book hidden after the period of Joshua (113) was common to *Nehemiah* and to Qumran, and served as a model for David's defense for his sin.

(110) *Deuteronomy*, in contrast to the other books, refers to all laws as communicated by God to Moses, and told to Israel in God's name; according to a homily in *b. B. Bat.* 14b, Moses wrote the entire Torah.

(111) Since Samuel was also a Judge (*1 Sam* 7: 15) there is no discrepancy between the two sources.

(112) There its name is חג האסיף "the Feast of Ingathering" (*Exod* 23: 16 and 34: 22).

(113) The text of *CD-A V 3-4* is odd, and seems contradictory. The phrase "since the day of the death of Eleazar and of Joshua" indicates that the book was hidden after the death of these two persons; but we read further: "and Joshua and the elders who worshipped Ashtarot," apparently indicating that it was hidden before Joshua's death, since at his time idolatry was practised. Such an interpretation would conflict with scriptural records. I have therefore interpreted the verse accordingly.

I do not dispute that the Qumran group possibly created the polygamy restriction, but they did not present it as their own creation. They believed that it was a cosmologically- or anthropologically-motivated rule, deduced from the mention of the pairs that went into Noah's ark, and the exact interpretation of which was put away in the Ark; this reference to pairing invoked and rationalized a suitable interpretation of the scriptural prohibition with respect to the King (*Deut* 17: 17) and its extension to every Israelite. As the Qumran text states that God forgave David for his sin of marrying many women, (114) it is evident that according to the author's belief this law was in force at that time. (115) It would not have been a sin if it were a "new sectarian prohibition," (116) a contemporized version of the law of the king; nor was it "a proposed ideal political order for Hasmonean period Judea," within the ambit of the Scroll's instructions on how a Jew should live "in the troubled times in which the author/redactor lived." (117)

A similar conclusion may be drawn regarding the prohibition against marrying a niece in the succeeding text of vv. 8-11. We read there: "But Moses said: 'Do not approach your mother's sister, she is a blood relation to your mother.' The law of prohibited marriages, written for males, applies equally to females." The text itself clearly and unequivocally states that in the author's view the law was pronounced by Moses, and founded upon the logical extension of the prohibition for males to females. Nothing is hidden here; the rule is not founded upon complex exegesis but upon a straightforward, logical understanding of the original scriptural decree. This is not "totally at variance with the explicit statement of the Torah and its narratives," as Schiffman asserts.

From the philological aspect, the term *nistar* implies that something existing was hidden; in contrast, something new, just now developed and revealed, can logically not be "hidden." We have observed (118) that the author of *IQS* VIII 11-12 uses the term מִצָּר "to find" in connection with previously indefinite halakhot that have been defined by the Interpreter, which unquestionably indicates the detection of something previously existent. Similarly, the term "hidden law" as used by Schiffman points to a standalone element; but regarding the same rules he then refers to them as an "interpretation"

(114) We read in *CD-A* V 5-6: "And David's deeds were praised, except for Uriah's blood, and God forgave him this."

(115) Wacholder's proposition ("Sealed," 361), that the *TS* was the book hidden on God's order, does not resolve the question of why David sinned by marrying many women if God had commanded the hiding of the book in which this prohibition appeared.

(116) Wacholder, "Sealed," 40.

(117) *Ibid.* 37

(118) See n. 49.

of existing laws. A new and different interpretation is not a new law, it is a correction of a previously misunderstood law, and would not “continue to change” (119) if it were now correctly comprehended. The *MMT* citations quoted in the first part of the study, and the plea by that scroll’s author to his addressees to accept Qumran’s exegesis, demonstrate that these precepts, as correctly understood by the Qumranites, are based in the Torah, and represent the original accurate law for all of Israel, for all times, not solely for the sect and its period.

### 5.3 *The Eternal Nature of Future Rules*

The rules regarding the three camps of the desert, discussed by Schiffman in support of his thesis, do not achieve this goal, in my opinion. These scriptural rules served, in contrast to Schiffman’s assumptions, as a model for the future holiness distinctions in the Temple and Jerusalem, for both Qumran and rabbinic scholars. The relevant details of the halakhot, such as the extent of each camp and its applicable restrictions, were different in Qumran and rabbinic literature, but were identical with respect to their essential character; the distinctions were the result of a different view of the facts, not of the law. Both groups believed that the scriptural rules concerning the camps in the desert were the source of their ultimate halakhic decisions. The Rabbis deduced these halakhot by exegesis; the Qumran scholars may also have reached them through exegesis, as with many other minutiae that were not adequately articulated in Scripture, or through the inspiration of their scholars and spiritual leaders, or through commonly accepted ancient traditions. (120) Common to both the Rabbis and Qumran was the belief that the classification of degrees of holiness for the camps, which was communicated at Sinai, was from this point on the model for the Temple and the city of Jerusalem. (121) The Rabbis deduced by exegesis

(119) Schiffman, “Contemporizing,” 40.

(120) For example, the Qumran phylacteries demonstrate a remarkable similarity in their structure and written content to those of the rabbinic tradition, though Scripture does not give any indication at all of their nature. See Y. Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran (XQ Phyl 1-4)* (Jerusalem, 1969). The Karaites, who denied the authority of the rabbinic interpretations (i.e. the Oral Torah), did not practice this precept at all, and considered the pertinent scriptural command of *Deut* 6: 8, repeated in 11: 18, as referring to a symbolic sign. On this issue see also H. Stegeman, “The Qumran Essenes-Local — Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress, Proceedings of the International Congress on the Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18 – 21 March, 1991*, vol. 1, 83-166, eds. J. T. Barrera and L.V. Montaner (Leiden. 1992), pp. 107 -14.

(121) We read in *t. Kelim* 1: 12, and in aslightly different form in *Sifre Num piska* 1: “And just as there were three camps in the desert, the camp of the Holy Presence, the camp of the Levites and the camp of the Israelites, so were [the division of

every detail missing from scriptural precepts and their relevant ramifications; (122) they derived even the dimensions of the Israelite camps through hermeneutics. (123) These regulations came into effect in various stages after the Israelites entered into the Holy Land. The rules changed according to the particular site and type of sanctuary, from the crossing of the Jordan until the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem, (124) and were eternal from then onward.

the camps] in Jerusalem: from the gate of Jerusalem to the gate of the Holy Mount was the camp of the Israelites, from the gate of the Holy Mount to the Nicanor gate was the camp of the Levites, and from the Nicanor gate inside was the camp of the Holy Presence, and that corresponds to the curtains [of the courtyard] in the [Tabernacle of the] desert."

(122) I will cite some examples of the practical consequences of the holiness classification. Different degrees of impurity affected which camps one could enter: the leper had to keep out of all three camps, a person with a discharge was allowed to enter the Israelite camp, and a person impure because of contact with a dead body could enter the Levite camp (*b. Zevah*. 55a). The obligatory consumption of sacrifices with different degrees of holiness in particular camps was linked to the camp's degree of holiness (*t. Zevah*. 13: 3): the most holy sacrifices had to be eaten in the camp of the Holy Presence, but the holy sacrifices could be eaten in the Israelite camp. The sites for burning the different types of sacrifices were also linked with the degrees of holiness of the various camps (*Sifra, Dibura d'Hova, parashah* 3, chapter 5).

(123) We read in *Mek. d'Rabbi Ishmael, Yitro, parashah* 9: "And how do we know that [the [length of] the Israelite camp was twelve miles? We know it from *Num* 33: 49, 'They camped along the Jordan from Bet Yeshimot to Avel HaShittim,' and that distance is twelve miles." This is also indicated in *b. Eruv*. 55b and *b. Yoma* 75b by an Amora, Rabbah bar bar Hanna, who visited the site and gave evidence that the surface was three *parsot* square; each *parsah* is 4 miles.

(124) We read in *b. Zevah*. 112b: "Before the setting up of the Tabernacle [in the desert] the offerings at the Bamot were permitted and the sacrifices were performed by the firstborn. After the setting up of the Tabernacle, the offerings at the Bamot were prohibited, the sacrifices were performed by the priests, the most holy offerings were eaten inside the curtains [of the courtyard] and the holy offerings in the Israelite camp. When they [the sanctuary] came to Gilgal the performance of the sacrifices was permitted at the Bamot, the most holy sacrifices were eaten inside the curtains, and the holy sacrifices were eaten everywhere. When they came to Shiloh the offerings at the Bamot were prohibited; the sanctuary had no roof, only stone walls covered with leather curtains, and the 'resting place' [*Deut* 12: 9] was fulfilled [thanks to this type of construction the first condition of the command to offer sacrifices only in the place the Lord will choose (Jerusalem) was fulfilled]; the most holy offerings were eaten inside the curtains and the holy offerings and the second tithe [which was to be eaten in the place the Lord will choose (Jerusalem)] in the area from which one can see the sanctuary. When they came to Nob and Gibeon the offerings at the Bamot were permitted, the most holy offerings were eaten inside the curtains, and the holy offerings in all the towns of Israel [like the Bamot]. When they came to Jerusalem the offerings at the Bamot were prohibited and from then on no longer permitted, because [the second condition of *Deut* 12: 9 was fulfilled:] they 'came to the inheritance,' the most holy sacrifices were eaten inside the curtains, and the holy sacrifices were eaten inside the walls [of Jerusalem]." We observe that for each stage of the journey appropriate rules were deduced by exegesis of scriptural commands, but from the last stage onwards the rules became eternal. I do not think that the Rabbis perceived these rules as a contemporization; nor, I assume, did the Qumran scholars. Certain details regarding the degrees of holiness and requirements of the three

(125) Hence this process did not involve the “contemporization” of rules for a particular period; the origin of the relevant rules was primeval and they became applicable in practice at the appropriate time.

For comparison purposes, we may note that there are a variety of stages within which the many commands relevant to the agricultural obligations came into force after the crossing of the Jordan. (126) Are these contemporized halakhot, or was the view that each rule became effective at its pertinent time, as foreseen by God and expressed in the Torah?

We have no reason to doubt that similar methods were used by Qumran scholars. They had the same goal and applied similar exegetical methods, (127) though they did not always reach identical decisions given their different philosophical approaches. There were no different views in each group with respect to the eternity of the Torah, from its inception in the infinite past and extension into the infinite future, (128) or with respect to the idea that all its precise details were given at Sinai.

In light of the above, I would not label the many ordinances that become effective at foreseen dates and events as “contemporization,”

camps were different in Qumran halakhic literature, but the basic principles were identical to those of the Rabbis/Pharisees.

(125) As an example, *m. Mid.* 4: 7 indicates that the internal dimensions of the Temple were sixty cubits long and twenty cubits wide, including the Holy of Holies of twenty by twenty cubits, exactly like the dimensions of Solomon’s Temple as described in *I Kgs* 6: 17: 20. But since it was known that Herod’s Temple was much bigger, the Rabbis envisaged dimensions for the outer walls of one hundred cubits square (*m. Mid.* 4:6), as well as a complex structure of thick walls and spaces between them, in order to reach the required internal size of Solomon’s model. In this way the rules of Solomon’s Temple were eternally valid and theoretically applied to Herod’s Temple.

(126) We read in *Sifra Behar parshah* 1: “As the Israelites crossed the Jordan [into Canaan] they were obliged to perform the precepts of: tithe of the dough [*Num* 15: 20], *orlah* [the prohibition against eating the fruits of a tree in its first three years [*Lev* 19: 23], and the prohibition against eating grain from the new harvest [before bringing the Omer — *Lev* 23: 10-14]; on the sixteenth of Nisan, they were obliged to bring the Omer [from the first harvest of barley — *Lev* 23: 10-13]; after fifty days they were obliged to bring the offering of two loaves [*Lev* 23: 15-17]; fourteen years later they were obliged to give tithes of the harvest [*Num* 18: 21 and 24 — the Rabbis assumed that the conquest of the land and its division among the tribes and clans took fourteen years, and therefore the ownership of the land, the crucial factor for the obligation of the tithes, came into effect only after the final inheritance of the land]; after twenty-one years they practised the year of rest of the land [*Lev* 25: 3-7], and sixty-four years afterwards they practised the Jubilee Year [*Lev* 25: 8-13].”

(127) See the discussion in section 3 on this issue.

(128) See the homily in n. 88. Another interesting homily appears in *m. Avot* 3: 14: “The Israelites are [God’s] favourites and especially liked, so He gave them a wonderful entity [the Torah], the blueprint of the world.” The Torah existed before the creation of the world, and is infinite.

since they became relevant at the appropriate times and then recur continually after their first occurrence, *ad infinitum*. They were promulgated by God at Sinai, according to Qumran, or before the creation of the world, as one rabbinic homily asserts. The Qumran decrees that Schiffman brings as evidence are not “new,” nor are they “modified.” (129)

I believe that my rationalization of Qumran decisions substantiates the opposite view, and there is need for further discussion on this topic. But if such exegeses are considered to be in conflict with the Torah, then one must consider many rabbinic prohibitions in the same light; I refer, for example, to the ban against combining all meat and milk products, cited in this study. The Rabbis could likewise be accused of decreeing laws “at variance” with the Torah, and consequently of maintaining that the Torah has been “modified and developed over time, and would continue to change,” as Schiffman imputes to Qumran. (130) It is evident that the Rabbis did not present their decrees in such a way, as I will demonstrate, and I doubt very much whether Schiffman would impute such a premise to them.

#### 5.4 Arguments Against “Contemporization” from a Philosophical/Theological View

From the philosophical/ theological viewpoint it is highly unreasonable to assume that Qumran scholars would conceive of the Torah and its precepts, God’s words and commands given at Sinai, as capable of being modified and further developed. Such an attitude would undermine any conservative religion or creed, and is explicitly forbidden in Scripture. *Deut* 13: 1(12: 32 in KJV) (131) prohibits the addition of new laws, while *Eccl* 3: 14 (132) states that whatever God does will endure for ever; the Torah is definitely included in this axiom. The Rabbis, who, in our contemporary view, did change many laws, sometimes even in blatant conflict with the simple meaning of the biblical text, (133) nevertheless presented them as correct interpretations, given at Sinai, and not as newly developed or modified laws. (134) They declared explicitly that not even a prophet could

(129) Schiffman, “Contemporizing,” 40.

(130) *Ibid.*

(131) We read there: “See that you do all I command you; do not add to it or take away from it.”

(132) We read there: “I know that everything God does will endure for ever; nothing can be added to it and nothing taken from it.”

(133) See Heger, *Pluralistic*, 61-71, 118 and 346.

(134) Maimonides, who had philosophical problems with the phenomenon of miracles, explained that the omniscient God knew ahead of time everything that would take place in history, and acted accordingly. Thus already at the creation of the world God had designed miraculous occurrences, such as the division of the sea dur-



originate new precepts. (135) Though they did not explicitly use the term נסתר “hidden,” in the sense of “unknown,” we can detect a trace of a similar concept in a narrative in *b. Menah.* 29b. Moses, upon his request to God, is placed in Rabbi Akiva’s school and listens to the latter’s teachings of halakhot; however, Moses understands nothing of Rabbi Akiva’s lectures. He feels very frustrated until the disciples ask Rabbi Akiva how he knows these halakhot, and he answers that he knows them from the Torah given to Moses at Sinai; Moses is then comforted. It seems to me that Rabbi Akiva’s interpretations of the Torah may be compared to the “hidden” correct interpretations advanced by Qumran. In both schools the correct interpretations were inherent in the commands, but differently or incorrectly understood. (136)

There is no definite parallel in Qumran literature to the homily in *b. Menah.*, but we do encounter many quotations that substantiate the thesis that they too believed that all commands were given by God at Sinai and nothing could be added, altered or removed. (137) The eternity of the divine commands is affirmed frequently in Qumran literature by their use of such attributes as חוקת עולם “everlasting ordinance,” with the addition לדורותיכם “for the generations to come,” (138) and כול הימים “for all time.” (139) We also encounter the maxim that God’s deeds are irrevocable and unchangeable, and this must include the Torah. (140) Further, there is the view that those

ing the flight of the Israelites from Egypt, to take place at their proper times. See *The Guide of the Perplexed*, trans. S. Pines (Chicago, 1963), chap. 25, 327-30.

(135) We read in *b. Yoma* 80 a: “[It is written in *Lev* 27: 34, the concluding sentence of the book of Leviticus] ‘These are the commands’ [that the Lord gave Moses on Mount Sinai for the Israelites, and the restrictive term ‘these’ excludes others; this teaches us that] no prophet is allowed to renew anything from now on.”

(136) As a more modern example, the Christian Reform movement did not claim that Holy Scripture should be “contemporized” or that their rules were “new” and that Scripture “would continue to change”; it accused the establishment of incorrect interpretation of the original text.

(137) We encounter in *11QT* LIV 6-7 a repetition of and emphasis on the biblical prohibition against adding or removing something from the commands given at Sinai: “All the things which I order you today, take care to carry them out; you shall not add to them, nor shall you remove anything from them.”

(138) See, e.g., *1Q22* IV 4; *4Q259+319* V 18; *11QT* VIII 13; IX 14; XIII 16; XVII 4; XVIII 8; XIX 8; XXI 9; XXII 14; XXV 8; XXVII 5.

(139) We read in *4Q175* 3-4 God’s words to Moses at Sinai concerning the commands to Israel: “and keep all my precepts all the days.” We read in *1Q22* (*Divrê Moshe*) I 6: “What I have commanded them, they and their sons, all the days.” This refers to what God had previously said to Moses: Interpret for all of Israel the words of the Law that were commanded on Mount Sinai, and proclaim everything accurately (paraphrased). These two citations declare that the commands given at Sinai were accurately interpreted by Moses and valid for eternity; they are not to be changed or altered.

(140) We read in *4Q299*, Frag. 1: 1: כִּי לֹא יִשְׁבּוּ אַחֲרָיו “it is irrevocable,” and in Frag. 8: 8: כֹּל שֶׁכֶּל מֵעוֹלָם הוּא לֹא יִשְׁנֶה “all insight is from eternity. He will not change.”

who continually meditate will understand the eternal ways and will know the difference between good and evil. (141) At the yearly festivals of Consecration, which seem new to us, we encounter the expression *לזכרון חוקות עולם לדורותיהמה* “a memorial, eternal regulations for their generations.” It is unquestionable that the term “eternal” means from the inception of these regulations at Sinai to infinity, and that this concept applies to all other commands of the TS that are missing in our Scripture. The same idea applies to the Festivals of Wine and Oil and Wood, which we term “New Festivals.” In the TS these festivals bear the attribute *חוקות עולם לדורותיהמה* “eternal regulations for their generations” (*11QT* XXII 14; XXIV 8-9), which is the exact phrase used for the Passover festival (*11QT* XVIII 8), the First Fruits festival (*11QT* XIX 8), the Trumpet festival (*11QT* XXV 8), and the Day of Atonement (*11QT* XXVII 4-5). Just as the latter festivals, as explicitly mentioned in Scripture, were given at Sinai, so were the “New Festivals,” in the view of the author of the TS and its adherents. We must also consider that in all of the TS there is no mention of any rule that was hidden; according to the *opinio communis* recently reasserted by H. Najman, (142) everything was deemed to have been given at Sinai. The Qumran Sages simply maintained that some laws were erroneously interpreted, as we observe in the numerous occurrences of the term *תעו* “they [inexcusably] erred.” (143)

(141) We read in 4Q417, Frag. 2 i: “for all eternal periods and then you will know the difference between good and evil.”

(142) *Seconding*, 53: “Both Jubilees and the TS claim that their text is part of the original and authoritative Sinaitic revelation.”

(143) I have translated this term as “erred” — that is, the laws were wrongly interpreted or understood. (I have given above an example of an inexcusable error.) This term is more appropriate in the context of an assumed erroneous interpretation of a vague command than “going astray.” García Martínez et al. translate this term as “went astray” in most occurrences, but in some instances, as for example in *IQS* VII-12 in relation to the “hidden laws” (the subject of my thesis), it is interpreted as “erred.” In modern Hebrew, “to err” is *טעה* with a ט, but in the MT the term *תעה* is used, for both “err” and “go astray” (with the exception of one instance in *Ezek* 13:10, in *Hifil* mode). Possibly García Martínez et al. used this meaning in the translation because in many scriptural instances, such as *תעו במדבר* in *Ps* 107: 4, one must interpret the term as “gone astray.” For example, the NIV interprets *תעי רוח בינה* in *Isa* 29: 24 as “wayward in spirit,” retaining the same notion of movement as in “going astray” for the spirit, for which it is not appropriate; the KJV interprets this phrase appropriately as “erred in spirit.” (The same difference is encountered in the translation of *ויתעו כוניהם* as “led astray by their lies” in the NIV, and “their lies caused to err” in the KJV). Qumran literature uses only the term *תעה* in its Hebrew texts, while *טעה* is used only in the Aramaic texts. The term *שגג* is also occasionally used in Qumran literature, mostly in connection with scriptural quotations, and refers exclusively to an involuntary transgression; it cannot be used for “to err” or to “go astray.” This is evident from the text of *IQS* IX 1: “[for] one sin of oversight he will be punished two years; but whoever acts impertinently shall not return again” (translation of García Martínez et al.). I think that the contrasting of *שגגה* and *ביד רמה* “de-

On the other hand, there would be tension between the belief that all laws and their minutiae were given at Sinai and reality — in particular, the existence of halakhic disputes. This was differently explained, at least implicitly, by each group. The Rabbis explained the existence of disputes through various homilies: three thousand halakhot were forgotten during the mourning period after Moses' death, (144) or similar odd causes. (145) Qumran maintained that some halakhot were wrongly perceived by דורשי חלקות "sly interpreters," and were gradually interpreted correctly by their Teacher of Righteousness and other learned members of their community. The Rabbis blamed human failure, such as the forgetfulness incited by some crisis, while Qumran attributed such halakhic differences to inadequate efforts to study the Torah. (146) Nonetheless, the common belief of both groups was that the divine commands were precisely defined (147) and decisively established at their initial transmission to Israel. (The inconsistencies engendered by these assumed dogmas are beyond the scope of our investigation.)

## 6. Conclusion

My analysis of the terms *nigleh* and *nistar* and their particular use in Qumran literature has demonstrated that they do not refer to any definite subject matter, time or object of disclosure or hiding; one must consider each use of the term according to its context, not on the basis of a sweeping single meaning. This premise has allowed me to posit a different conjecture about the two categories of "hidden matters." One category comprises biblical commands, which every pious Israelite who is dedicated to the earnest and constant study of the Torah and driven by a genuine attempt to attain its correct meaning, could understand; those who approached this task with flawed intentions, the דורשי בחלקות, reached erroneous conclusions. Category two, comprising esoteric matters, remain the exclusive preserve of particular personalities of superior status, such as the Teacher of Righteousness; such individuals were endowed by the Deity with the privilege of revealing hidden matters of another, more lofty realm. The accusations against Qumran's opponents refer to their failed attempts to search for the true and correct exegesis of the Torah, an objective they could have achieved.

fiantly," as in the identical text in *Num* 15: 22-30, requires the translation of שגגה as "unintentionally."

(144) We read in *b. Tem.* 15b: "Three thousand halakhot were forgotten during the days of mourning for Moses' death."

(145) See *t. Sanh.* 7: 1.

(146) See the relevant citation from in *IQS* V 11-12 in n. 17.

(147) See n. 124.

I disagree with the existence of a “grand theory” of a developing and changing Torah in Qumran’s theology; in particular, I disagree with Schiffman’s allegations that the “written Torah, originally revealed by God, had been modified later by His prophets,” and that “the hidden law, the *nistar*, had developed over time and would continue to change, but did not originate at the same time as the revealed Torah.” (148). My analysis has demonstrated that the assumption of a contemporization of halakhot is not only unwarranted but incompatible with the texts. The concept is inappropriate from the etymological viewpoint, and clearly conflicts with, for example, the facts in the narrative regarding the “hidden law” against polygamy. While a “contemporization” or “actualization” of prophecies was an accepted method of exegesis practised in Israel, it cannot be and was not applied to scriptural commands; nor was it applied to halakhot within rabbinic theology or, in my opinion, within Qumran thought. Contemporization implies a conscious awareness of change, and such a concept goes against the basic Israelite theology; in that system of thought, divine laws, given at Sinai, are eternal; they cannot be altered or adjusted; nothing can be added or removed. There is no disagreement on this fundamental philosophy between Qumran and the Rabbis. Though the Rabbis did change and adapt many rules, at times even against the obvious scriptural meaning, they presented such adjustments as having been actually given at the outset, at Sinai. It is beyond the scope of this study to scrutinize similar Qumran halakhot with the purpose of establishing whether the authors of these writings really believed that their understanding of Scripture was the authentic expression of the law as presented to Moses, or considered them to have been directly received from the Deity so as to enhance their authority. The same question would similarly apply to the Rabbis. Our interest in this study is in how Qumran presented their laws, and there is no doubt that they intended to indicate their Sinaitic origin. As such, these laws had divine status, and were eternally valid.

I would like to add that on the basis of my studies of rabbinic literature, and the analysis and comparison of Qumran writings, it is my conviction that in matters of principle there is a great similarity between the two branches of Judean society in the last period of the Second Commonwealth with respect to basic theology, particularly the belief in the universal and eternal validity of God’s words entrenched in the Torah. This primary outlook guides my research on Qumran in this and similar studies, and I believe it stands in opposition to the basic philosophy of Schiffman that is the foundation of his assumptions and writings. I think that this fundamental issue, in my opinion of utmost significance for the study and research of

(148) Schiffman, “Contemporizing,” 40.

Qumran in all its aspects, has not been adequately debated, and should be given more attention. My hope is that this study will stimulate further new conjectures that will challenge commonly accepted assumptions.

Paul HEGER

## SIRACH 51:13-30 AND 11Q5 (=11QPS<sup>a</sup>) 21.11-22.1

### Summary

The poem that concludes the *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, also found in 11Q5 (= 11QPS<sup>a</sup>) 21.11-22.1, has elicited differing interpretations among critics concerning at least two issues: whether or not the poem should actually be attributed to the Jerusalemite sage who authored his eponymous book of wisdom, and whether or not the poem's language should be construed as "erotic." The essay attempts to determine the likelihood of *Ben Sira*'s authorship based on an analysis of the poem's macro- and micro-structures, since, as has been recently demonstrated, there are certain structural characteristics that can be considered typical of *Sirach* poetry. In addition, the essay analyzes the poem as a coherent whole, in order to assess the context in which the so-called erotic vocabulary occurs. The article concludes that the structure of the poetry, especially its use of parallelism, encourages the identification of *Ben Sira* as the author of the poem. The erotic dimension to some words and phrases cannot be denied; nor should the poem's implicit analogy between sexual desire and desire for Wisdom be totally obscured. However, the poem's overall message or theme discourages the rather extreme interpretations and suggestions proposed by many scholars.

### Introduction

THE poem that concludes the *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, also known as *Sirach*, has provoked differing interpretations among critics concerning at least two issues: whether or not the poem should actually be attributed to the Jerusalemite sage and whether or not the poem's language should be construed as "erotic." In large part these questions have been generated from the appearance of the poem on a Dead Sea Scroll (11Q5 = 11QPS<sup>a</sup>), which describes in detail David's literary activity and includes poems where David is the speaker. This scroll's version of *Sir* 51:13-30 seems closer to the original Hebrew, more so than the other witnesses, including the versions preserved in

the Cairo Genizah B-text and the Greek and Syriac translations. (1) Most critics of the past 40 years have affirmed that the poem really was written by *Ben Sira*, despite the fact it appears in a collection of psalms connected to David. (2) All the same, J. A. Sanders, the first editor of *11Q5*, still tentatively suggests that, since it appears outside of *Ben Sira*'s book (in a more pristine form), the poem was perhaps not authored by the famous sage. (3) Some scholars, like Celia Deutsch, are not willing to conclusively affirm his authorship or deny it. (4)

(1) This opinion is shared by most critics who comment on the scroll, including J.A. Sanders (*The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>)* [DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965], 79; idem, "Non-Masoretic Psalms" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations: Volume 4a: Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers* [ed. J.A. Charlesworth et al.; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1997], 187); M. Delcor, ("Le Texte hébreu du cantique de Siracide LI, 13 et ss. et les anciennes versions," *Textus* 6 [1968] 39); J.G. Snaith (*Ecclesiasticus or the Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach: Cambridge Bible Commentary* [Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1974], 260); and T. Muraoka ("Sir. 51, 13-30: An Erotic Hymn to Wisdom," *JSJ* 10 [1979] 166-167). It may also be noted at the beginning of this essay that because older *Sirach* scholars like Norbert Peters and Rudolf Smend knew nothing of *11Q5*, their observations are often not pertinent to our discussion.

(2) These include I. Rabinowitz, "Qumran Original of Ben Sira's Acrostic on Wisdom," *HUCA* 42 [1971] 173), T. Muraoka ("Sir. 51, 13-30," 166), A.A. DiLella (P.W. Skehan and A.A. DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* [AB 39; New York: Anchor Doubleday, 1987], 576) and J. Marböck, "Structure and Redaction History of the Book of Ben Sira: Review and Prospects," in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference 28-31 July 1996 Soesterberg, Netherlands* (ed. P.C. Beentjes; BZAW 255; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1997), 78 and idem, *Weisheit im Wandel: Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira* (BZAW 272; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999), 124.

(3) J.A. Sanders seems certain it was not authored by Sirach in the *editio princeps*: "11QPs<sup>a</sup> proves that the canticle was originally independent of Sirach and adapted to the latter only at great expense to the original poem" (DJD 4, 85). In that same book he goes on to imply that because it is included in the *11Q5* scroll (which itself attributes various poetic texts to David), the person (or people) who included it in the *11Q5* scroll must have felt that David had composed the poem (ibid., 92). A couple of years later when he made a more popular presentation of the same text, he seems somewhat equivocal when he writes: "One's feeling might well be that if Ben Sira did not pen it as a closing lecture for a graduating class then at least he should have used it, or one like it" (*The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* [Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 1967], 113). In a more recent publication he writes of the fact that the same text appears both in the *11QPsalms scroll* and at the end of *Sirach* and that this "would indicate that perhaps the original canticle was independent of both David and Sirach" ("Sirach 51:13ff.," 187). P. Flint also affirms that "this piece was originally an independent poem" ("Psalms, Book of: Apocryphal Psalms" in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [eds. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University, 2000], 709).

(4) C. Deutsch, although making many connections between the poem and the rest of *Sirach*, still hesitates to affirm conclusively on the poem's authorship ("The Sirach 51 Acrostic: Confession and Exhortation," *ZAW* 94 [1982] 401 n 5). In a similar vein, J.J. Collins writes: "... it is not certain that it was composed by Ben Sira. Nonetheless, it has several points of contact with the rest of Sirach's book... It must at

The line between those who believe that the poem is “erotic” and those who do not is more fuzzy. In other words, most commentators consider desire to be the subject of some verses, but some wish to emphasize this aspect in their translations and commentary, while others present a more reserved consideration of this aspect of the poem. Those affirming and emphasizing the erotic dimension in recent years include Sanders, Muraoka, and Delcor. (5) Skehan and Deutsch seem to take a middle ground, Skehan remarking that verses 18-19 take as their theme “desire and pursuit of wisdom, not possession.” (6) DiLella and Snaith do not directly comment on the poem’s representation of desire, but they both prefer the non-sexual interpretation of all the words. (7) Rabinowitz is the only one to explicitly argue that no erotic allusions should be found in the poem at all. (8)

Evidence for the poem’s eroticism is found primarily in the concentration of words that have possible erotic connotations. Sanders posits an erotic interpretation for the following: **מערמים**, **טרתי נפש**, **יד**, **רגל**, **ידע**, **מישור**, **רגל**, **ידע**, **שחק**, **לך**, **טוב**, **נפש**, words whose erotic meaning he indicates either in his translation (“pleasure” for **טוב**, “ardor” for **נפש**, and “bestirred my desire” for **טרתי נפש**) or in footnotes (**יד** and **רגל** “may also refer to the phallus,” **מישור** to “smoothness,” **ידע** to “sexual intimacy,” **לך** to “seductive speech,” and **מערמים** to “nakedness”). (9) To these Muraoka adds an erotic interpretation to **אשלה** “in the moments of her exaltation, i.e., orgasm, I will not let up” and to **כפי הברותי**, his interpretation of which implies the translation “polishing my genitals,” though he is too modest to actually provide this translation. (10)

least be regarded as representative of the kind of wisdom circles in which Sirach moved” (*Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* [Louisville, Kent.: Westminster/John Knox, 1997], 53).

(5) Sanders, DJD 4, 81-82; idem, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 113-117; idem, “Sirach 51:13ff.,” 187-191; Muraoka, “Sir. 51, 13-30,” 166-178; M. Delcor, “Le Texte hébreu du cantique de Siracide LI, 13 et ss.,” 35-37.

(6) P.W. Skehan, “The Acrostic Poem in Sirach 51:13-30,” *HTR* 64 (1971) 394; Deutsch comments that Ben Sira “uses erotic language to describe his response to her [i.e., Wisdom],” (“The Sirach 51 Acrostic,” 406).

(7) DiLella, “Review of J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPS<sup>a</sup>)*” *CBQ* 28 (1966) 93-94; idem in Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 577-578 and Snaith, *Ecclesiasticus*, 259-262. In his commentary on this verse, DiLella acknowledges the existence of the erotic interpretations of Sanders without attempting to debunk them, instead referring the reader to the study by Deutsch.

(8) Rabinowitz, “Qumran Original,” 173-184.

(9) Sanders, DJD 4, 81-82; idem, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 114-116; idem, “Sirach 51:13ff.,” 188-189. He comments that the verb **שחק** “calls to mind sexual dalliance” (*ibid.*, 189).

(10) He writes concerning the last passage, “What physical activity the phrase as a whole could possibly denote I leave to the reader’s imagination to work out,” (“Sir. 51, 13-30,” 172).



A secondary reasoning for seeing hints of the erotic is the precedent for Wisdom being characterized as a tavern-girl and as a girl to be courted and wed. Wisdom is portrayed as someone who offers food and drink in *Prov* 9:1-6, in other words as a kind of tavern-keeper, in contrast to the portrait of flesh-and-blood prostitutes/tavern-girls in, e.g., *Prov* 7. In addition, Wisdom is characterized as a nubile girl in *Sir* 14:23-24, 15:2, and in *Wis* 8:1, a characterization which implies some analogy between the earnest pursuit of Wisdom and the youthful, eager desire for a wife. (11)

Those who de-emphasize the poem's erotic dimension, recognize the poem's appeal to the existing analogies between Wisdom and desired females, but do not go so far as to assert the relevance of the erotic nuances of all the words listed above. Rabinowitz, representing the extreme view, asserts in the conclusion of his article that the poem's expression, although "witty" and "forceful," is "without recourse, as has been supposed, to erotically ambiguous language." (12)

The following essay attempts to determine the likelihood of *Ben Sira's* authorship based on an analysis of the poem's macro- and micro-structures, since, as has been recently demonstrated, there are certain structural characteristics that can be considered typical of *Sirach* poetry. (13) In addition, the essay analyzes the poem as a coherent whole, in order to assess the context in which the so-called erotic vocabulary occurs. In anticipation of the conclusion, it can be said that the structure of the poetry, especially its use of parallelism, encourages the identification of *Ben Sira* as the author of the poem. The erotic dimension to some words and phrases cannot be denied; nor should the poem's implicit analogy between sexual desire and desire for Wisdom be totally obscured. However, the poem's overall message or theme discourages the rather extreme interpretations and suggestions proposed by many scholars; such interpretations seem to imply that the analogy between pursuing sex and pursuing Wisdom is the central metaphor of the poem, which, in turn, suggests that pursuing Wisdom results in immediate reward and satisfaction while young. (14) This is explicitly not what the poem is arguing. Rather,

(11) See Sanders, DJD 4, 84; idem, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 117.

(12) Rabinowitz, "Qumran Original," 184. It seems, however, whether or not one understands the words to have an erotic meaning here, that some at least do have indisputable sexual connotations and, as such, it is impossible to deny the possibility that an ancient reader might pick up on some of these in his or her reading of the poem.

(13) E.D. Reymond, *Innovations in Hebrew Poetry: Parallelism and the Poems of Sirach* (SBL 9; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 85-112.

(14) Sanders explicitly states that he believes the poem "celebrates how a celibate young man can by spiritual discipline dedicate bodily drives and appetites to a pursuit of Wisdom instead of to a pursuit a sexual pleasure," but his reading of so

the poem makes a case for pursuing Wisdom as a youth (with the same ardor with which one would pursue a bride), though the poem suggests that one reaps the benefits of this pursuit primarily later in life.

In order to better understand my interpretation and description of the poem, I have presented it below (divided into cola and verses), together with my abbreviated analysis of the parallelism and my translation. (15) Following this is a more detailed prose description of the poem's salient structural features, including its approximate line-length. For this analysis it is helpful to understand the prism through which I evaluate line-length and parallelism. As is commonly observed, ancient Hebrew poetry does not contain a recognizable meter. (16) The line-length analysis evaluates the approximate length of cola by tabulating the number of consonants (including *matres lectiones*), syllables, and words (not including particles) per colon. (17) For parallelism, my analysis depends on the observations made by Dennis Pardee, Adele Berlin, and others, who distinguish between types of parallelism based on linguistic features: semantics (including synonymous relationships, antonymous, part/whole, and non-binary contrasts), grammar (including morphology and syntax), and phonetics. (18) A fourth type of parallelism, repetitive parallelism, which in-

many words as sexual innuendoes undermines this idea ("Sirach 51:13ff.," 187). Nor do I find Sanders's appeal to "the burden of literary ambiguity" convincing, since such an explanation can be used to justify any translation ("The Qumran Psalms Scroll (11QPs<sup>a</sup>) Reviewed" in *On Language, Culture, and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida* [eds. M. Black and W.A. Smalley; The Hague: Mouton, 1974], 90).

(15) In what follows, I will refer to a bicolon as a bicolon or as a verse, regardless of the biblical verse division indicated in the Septuagint. The constituent parts of the verse/bicolon are cola (singular: colon), sometimes also referred to as lines. The verses are divided based on the common assumption that a bicolon breaks into discrete cola of similar length, usually along clause boundaries.

(16) See, e.g., D.L. Petersen and K.H. Richards, *Interpreting Hebrew Poetry* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship, Old Testament Series; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 42.

(17) The specific method I employ is based on the model of Dennis Pardee, though similar methods have been applied to Hebrew and Ugaritic by other scholars. Pardee has used a variety of methods in a series of publications for analyzing line-length (*Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetic Parallelism*, [VTSup 39; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988]; idem, "Structure and Meaning in Hebrew Poetry: the Example of Psalm 23," *Maarav* 5-6 [1990] 239-280). O. Loretz applied the counting of syllables to Hebrew and Ugaritic poems ("Die Analyse der ugaritischen und hebräischen Poesie mittels Stichometrie und Konsonantenzählung," *UF* 7 [1975] 265-69; and O. Loretz and I. Kottsieper, *Colometry in Ugaritic and Biblical Poetry* [Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur 5; Altenberge, Germany: CIS Verlag, 1987], 26. D.N. Freedman uses syllable-counting ("Pottery, Poetry and Prophecy," *JBL* 96 [1977] 5-26). One obvious problem of counting syllables here is that the vocalization for this dialect of Hebrew is not known. I use the Masoretic model of vocalization, since it can be consistently applied. The counting of syllables offers only a relative way of measuring approximate line-length.

(18) See A. Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism* (Bloomington, Indi-

cludes the repetition of words and roots, usually encompasses semantic, morphological, and phonetic components. Following Pardee's categories, I also discriminate between distributions of parallelism: those which occur within a colon, between cola of a single verse, between adjacent verses, and between verses separated by a verse or more. (19)

## Text and Analysis of Parallelism

			Gram. Analysis (20)	Sem. Analysis (21)
51:13	ובקשתיה בטרם תעיתי	אני נער	SP//V//V	ab//c//d
14	ועד סופה אדורשנה	באה לי בתרה	VMM//MV	ab//cd
15a-b	ענבים ישמחו לב	גם גרע נץ בבשול	VSM//SVO	abc//def
15c-d	כי מנעורי ידעתי	דרכה רגלי במישור	VSM//MV	abc//de
16	והרבה מצאתי לקח	הטיתי כמעט אוזני	VMO//MVO	abc//b'de
17	למלמדי אתן הודו	ועל<ה> היתה לי	OVM//MVO	ab//cde
18	קנאתי בטוב ולוא אשוב	זמותי ואשחקה	VV//VMV	ab//cde
19a-a'	ופני לוא השיבותי (22)	חריתי נפשי בה	VOM//OV	ab//b'c

ana: Indiana University Press, 1985); D. Pardee, *Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetic Parallelism* (1988); idem, *Maarav* 5–6 (1990) 239–80; idem, “Acrostics and Parallelism: the Parallelistic Structure of Psalm 111,” *Maarav* 8 (1992) 117–38; idem, “On Psalm 29: Structure and Meaning,” in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception* (eds. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, Jr.; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 153–183. On the semantic relationships listed, see J. Lyons, *Semantics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University), 270–335.

(19) Each type of parallelism can and does occur in each distribution, though sensitivity to the degree of perceptibility of certain types in certain distributions obviates the exhaustive description of all examples of parallelism in this study. Thus, semantic and grammatical parallelism are least perceptible when they occur between verses separated by a verse or more, while repetitive parallels are easier to perceive in this distribution and phonetic parallels are usually perceptible only within single cola or between cola of a verse.

(20) The analysis represented in this column describes the syntactic relationship between words of a single verse. M = modifier phrase, O = object, P = nominal predicate, S = subject, V = verb. The superscript indication in S<sup>(part + O)</sup> of verse 26c-c' indicates that the subject is made up of a participle plus an object. The superscript indication in O<sup>2</sup> of verse 28 indicates that the object contains two coordinated nouns. Terence Collins was the first to employ this kind of analysis (*Line Forms in Hebrew Poetry* [Studia Pohl, Series Maior 7; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978]).

(21) The semantic analysis takes account of semantic parallelism between words of a single verse, not including particles or prepositions. The same letter repeated represents repetitive parallelism, the same letter with an apostrophe marks semantic parallelism. The superscript (x+y) in verse 25 indicates that the letter “a” represents two words, in this case פתח and פה, which together are semantically similar to דבר.

(22) Although many commentators label this bicolon as 19a-b and subsequent ones c-d and e-f, this presents problems when comparing the Hebrew text to the Greek. Consistent with DiLella's appeal to label verses in the Hebrew version of

19a''-b	וּבְרוּמִיָּה לֹוא אִשְׁלָה	טָר > דְּתִי נִפְשִׁי בָּהּ	VOM//MV	ab//cd
19c-d	[וּב]מִעֲרֵמִיָּה אֶתְבוֹנֵן	יָדִי פִתַּח [הָ שַׁעֲרֵיהָ]	SVO//MV	abc//de
20a-b	[בְּנִקִּיָּן מִצֵּאתֶיהָ]	כִּפִּי הִבְרוֹתִי אֶל [יָהּ]	OVM//MV	ab//cd
20c-d	[בַּעֲבוּר כֵּן לֹוא אַעֲזֹבָהּ]	[לֵב קִנִּיתִי לִי מִרָאשׁ]	OVM//MV	abc//d
21	[בַּעֲבוּר כֵּן קִנִּיתִי קִנִּיָּן טוֹב]	[מִעֵי נִכְמְרוּ לִבְקֶשָׁה]	SVM//VO	abc//dde
22	[וּבִשְׁפֹתַי אֹדֶנּוּ]	[נָתַן אֶדְנִי לִי לְשׁוֹנִי שֹׁכֵר]	VSMOM//MV	abce//c'e
23	[וְלִינוּ בְּבֵית מוֹסֵר]	[סוּרוּ אֵלַי נְבָלִים]	VMvoc//VM	ab//cde
24	[וּנִפְשַׁכֶּם צִמְאָה מֵאֵד]	[עַד מָתִי תַחֲסְרוּ מֵאִילֹו]	MVM//SVM	ab//cde
25	[קִנּוּ לָכֶם בְּלוֹא כֶסֶף]	[פִּתַּחְתִּי פִי וּדְבַרְתִּי בָּהּ]	VMVM//VMM	a <sup>(x+y)</sup> a'//cd
26a-b	[וּתְשֹׂא נִפְשַׁכֶּם מִשָּׂאָה]	[צוּאֲרִיכֶם הִבִּיאוּ בַעֲלָהּ]	OVM//VSO	abc//ded
26c-c'	[וְנֹתַן נִפְשׁוֹ מִצָּא אֶתָּה]	[קִרְוָהּ הִיא לִמְבַקְשֶׁיהָ]	PSM//S <sup>(part + O)</sup> V	abc//def
27	[וּמִצֵּאתֶיָּה רַבָּהּ]	[רְאוּ בְעֵינֵיכֶם] [כִּי מֵעַט עֲמַלְתִּי]	VM//MV//VM	ab//cd//ec'
28	[וּכְסָף וְזָהָב תִּקְנֶה בָּהּ]	[שִׁמְעוּ מוֹסֵר כִּמְעַט]	VOM//O <sup>2</sup> VM	abc//dd'e
29	[וְאֵל תִּבּוֹשׁ בַּתְּלַתָּהּ]	[תִּשְׁמַח נִפְשַׁכֶּם בַּחֲסֵדָהּ]	VSM//VM	abc//de
30	[וּתִתֵּן] שִׁכְרָכֶם בַּעֲתוֹ	[פַּעֲלוּ פַעֲלֵכֶם בַּעֲתוֹ]	VOM//VOM	aab//cdb

### Translation

- 51:13 (When) I (was) a boy,  
before I had wandered around,  
I sought her.
- 14 She came to me in her beauty,  
and until the end I will (continue to) seek her.
- 15a-b While the blossom withers in the ripening,  
grapes gladden (the) heart.
- 15c-d My foot treads a flat plain  
for from my youth I knew her.
- 16 I stretched my ear a little  
and much learning did I find.
- 17 She was for me a yoke;  
to my teacher I ascribe his glory.
- 18 I devised that I would sing;  
I was excited by goodness and would not turn away.
- 19a-a' I, myself, burned for her,  
I did not turn my face away from her.

Sirach according to the verse numbers in the Greek version edited by Ziegler, I indicate with apostrophes those verses not present in the Greek text (Skehan and DiLella *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, x and Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* [Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 12:2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1965]). The apostrophes in the next verse and in verse 26 have identical purposes.

- 19a''-b     I wearied myself with her,  
but in her heights I am not lazy.
- 19c-d       My hand open[ed her gates]  
[that] I could consider her hidden things.
- 20a-b       I purified my palms (to go) [to her,]  
[and I found her through my innocence.]
- 20c-d       [I acquired understanding from the first,]  
[for then I would not be abandoned.]
- 21           [My inner self burned to pursue her]  
[for then I would acquire a precious thing.]
- 22           [My lord gave me my tongue as wage]  
[and with my lips I praise him:]
- 23           [Turn aside to me, fools]  
[and spend the night in the house of instruction.]
- 24           [How long will you be lacking because of these things,]  
[your soul thirsting greatly?]
- 25           [I opened my mouth and spoke about her:]  
[Acquire (her) for yourselves, without silver.]
- 26a-b       [Submit your neck to her yoke,]  
[so you will lift her burden.]
- 26c-c'       [She is near to those who seek her,]  
[the one who devotes his soul (to seeking her), finds her.]
- 27           [Look with your eyes]  
[that I have labored little,]  
[but I have discovered plenty.]
- 28           [Hear instruction but a little,]  
[and silver and gold you will acquire through her.]
- 29           [Your soul will rejoice in his kindness,]  
[and do not be ashamed in his praise.]
- 30           [Perform your deed at its time,]  
[so that he will give] your wage in its time.

### Notes to the Translation

**53:13** Like *Jeremiah* (1:6-7) and Solomon (*1 Kgs* 3:7-9), whose first experiences of the divine take place when they are children, so the speaker of this poem begins his pursuit of Wisdom as a child.

The subordinate, temporal nature of the first colon is implicit in the Hebrew, but is more explicit in the Greek translation: Ἐτι ὄν νεώτερος.

According to J.F. Elwolde בטרם appears before a perfect verb in the Bible in *Ps* 90:2 and *Prov* 8:25 as well as in *1QH<sup>a</sup>* 5.14 [Suk. 13.11], 7.17 [15.14], 9.7 [1.7]. (23) This is the rarer construction, the construction with the imperfect being the more common, even when the action takes place in the past. The legitimacy of this construction should be stressed since DiLella claims it does not occur in biblical Hebrew. (24) Presumably the use of the perfect here emphasizes the fact that the poet/sage is no longer “wandering,” but implies that he did in fact “wander.” If the sense was something like “before I had a chance to stray,” then we would expect an imperfect verb. See, for example, *Ruth* 3:14. Alternatively, בטרם might be followed here not by the perfect but by the infinitive (תעצה), a possibility suggested by DiLella and by Elwolde, who notes the appearance of this syntax in one biblical passage, *Zeph* 2.2, and several Dead Sea Scroll texts, *1QH<sup>a</sup>* 9.10-11 [Suk. 1.10-11], 19-20 [1.19-20], 28 [1.28]; *4Q176* 16.3; *4Q215a* 1:2.8. (25)

The choice of the word תעה is curious. We do not expect the poet/sage to be the subject of such a verb, since it ordinarily connotes moral straying; it is a verb one might especially expect to find in a wisdom poem describing the simple or wicked. The verb, of course, can also connote aimless travel, as in *Gen* 20:13, 21:14, 37:17. But these verses (and others) seem to carry the sense that the travel is not only aimless, but that it is also difficult and/or treacherous, something one does not choose to do. The word תעה is not simply synonymous with “travel” or “ramble” (as one might assume based on the NRSV translation “before I went on my travels”). In still other cases, the verb subtly alludes to trekking through waste, because of sin; thus, *Ps* 107:4 uses this verb to describe the wandering in the Sinai desert. I assume that the poet/sage does not intend to suggest he at one time lived a sinful life; thus “erred” (Sanders) and “gone astray” (Deutsch) do not seem like accurate translations. (26)

The Hebrew verb תעה in *Sir* 51:13 is translated by the Greek *πλανάω*, as it is in other biblical passages (like *Gen* 21:14). Although this Greek word typically connotes both wandering and sinful behavior, *Ben Sira* (or, more precisely his grandson who translated Ben Sira’s words into Greek) associates it with learning, experience, and education, as is seen in *Sir* 34:10-12: “The one who is untested

(23) J.F. Elwolde, “Some Lexical Structures in 1QH: Towards a Distinction of the Linguistic and the Literary” in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University 15-17 December, 1997* (eds. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; STDJ 33; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 93.

(24) Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 574.

(25) Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 574; Elwolde, “Some Lexical Structures,” 93.

(26) Sanders, DJD 4, 81; idem, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 115; idem, “Sirach 51:13ff,” 189; Deutsch, “The Sirach 51 Acrostic,” 401.

knows little, / but the one who is well-wandered (πεπλανημένος) multiplies cleverness. // Many things I have seen in my wandering (ἀποπλάνησις), / my comprehension (being) beyond my means of expression." The implication throughout *Sirach* seems to be that Wisdom can be found in or through the texts of other cultures and lands. Skehan translates 51:13 loosely with "when I was... innocent." (27) Presumably his translation is based, in part, on the use of πλανάω in this earlier *Sirach* passage.

The *waw* that precedes the verb בקש could be a conjunctive *waw*, connecting the verb בקש to בטרם. (This pertains if the first two words of the verse constitute the main clause, "I was a boy before I wandered and sought her...", or if the entire verse constitutes two temporal phrases, "When I [was] a boy, before I wandered and sought her...") Alternatively, the conjunction could be the *waw* of apodosis, resulting in a translation like the following: "When I was a boy, before I had wandered off, I sought her." The *waw* of apodosis is found prefixed to verbs that follow בטרם clauses in *Gen* 37:18; *Exod* 1:19; *1 Sam* 2:15; *2 Kgs* 6:32; *Isa* 66:7b. My choice of translation reflects the sense of the following verse which explicitly states that the poet pursues Wisdom.

Although the Greek text contains the explicit mention of *sophia*, the Dead Sea Scroll text as well as the Syriac translation do not mention Wisdom. This absence is important, as it forms one of the motifs of the poem and perhaps reflects the need to continue to seek and pursue Wisdom.

**51:14** The fact that the poet/speaker seeks Wisdom only to have her come to him reflects the reciprocal nature of Wisdom, also expressed later in this same poem (v. 26c-c'). This notion is similar to other passages in the Bible where Wisdom claims to have called to the simple and received no response (*Prov* 1:24) or claims to love those who love her (*Prov* 8:17). See also *Wis* 7:7: "the spirit of Wisdom came to me," (ἦλθεν μοι πνεῦμα σοφίας).

The interpretation of the Hebrew letters תר as "beauty" is not universally accepted. The defective writing of this word is reminiscent of the spelling in the Masada manuscript of *Ben Sira* (43:9, 18) and in *11Q5* 28.9 (*Ps* 151), where the word appears spelled without the medial *aleph*, but with the *waw mater*: תור. In *1Q8* (*1QIsa<sup>b</sup>*) 52:14 the word appears without the *aleph* and without the *mater*: ותרו. The preposition is marking the state in which Wisdom comes to the poet, somewhat similar to the phrases in *Prov* 28:6 הולך בתמו or the more common יבוא בשלום (e.g., *Exod* 18:23). (An English reflection for this expression is found in the title of a poem by Lord Byron:

(27) Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem," 388.

“She Walks in Beauty.”) Given the orthography here, in *Ps* 151, in *IQ8* (*IQIsa<sup>b</sup>*), and in the *Ben Sira Masada* scroll (and the corresponding assumption that the word was normally pronounced *tōr*), one wonders if word play were intended between “her beauty,” pronounced *tōrāh*, and “Torah” (something remarked on parenthetically by M.S. Smith). (28) An association between wisdom and beauty (יָפִי or κάλλος) is found, e.g., in *Ezek* 8:12 and *Wis* 8:2. The alternative understanding of these consonants as “in her searches” (from תֹּר), which Sanders attributes to F. M. Cross, seems less likely and quite unlike the biblical attestations of this verb. (29) Nor does Rabinowitz’s suggested reading בְּיָתָהּ “with her abundance” seem likely on epigraphic or philological grounds. (30)

The *heh* at the end of סוֹף is the adverbial marker. Skehan notes the use of this marker on the place name Gezer, which follows the preposition עַד in *I Chr* 14:16. (31) The use of this word to designate the abstract notion of an end is found in late biblical texts like *Qoh* 3:11. The translation of Sanders “finally,” and his alternatives “when finally” and “unto her depths” seem unwarranted, as Deutsch has commented. (32) However, the latter’s understanding of this as an Aramaism, based on Delcor’s analysis, does not seem necessary either. (33) As for the translation of the word as definite, GKC note (in relation to locative הֵּ): “cases like מִן־הָרֶגֶל, מִן־הַיָּם show that the locative form of itself possessed a defining power.” (34)

The final verb of this verse, אֲדִירֶשְׁנָה, could be translated in a more colloquial way: “continue to attempt to acquire wisdom.” The reciprocal nature between Wisdom and its pursuer is again implied in this colon, something complemented by the grammatical chiasm of the verse: VMM//MV. The verbs of motion suggest that the pursuit of Wisdom is an on-going activity that has no terminus, something also suggested by the imperfect form of the verb. The spelling of the word is unexpected, but Sanders points to similar orthography in the same scroll at *11Q5* 3.5, 6.12, 14.5, 23.15. (35)

**51:15a-b** The verb גָּרַע (in the D-stem), according to Jastrow, refers to a stage in the development of grapes. He translates “to form glob-

(28) M.S. Smith, “How to Write a Poem: the Case of Psalm 151A (11QPs<sup>a</sup> 28.3-12),” in *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Leiden University, 11-14 December, 1995* (ed. T. Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 194.

(29) Sanders, DJD 4, 81.

(30) Rabinowitz, “Qumran Original,” 176-177.

(31) Skehan, “The Acrostic Poem,” 391-392.

(32) Deutsch, “The Sirach 51 Acrostic,” 401-402.

(33) Delcor, “Le Texte hébreu du cantique de Siracide LI, 13 et ss.,” 32 and Deutsch, “The Sirach 51 Acrostic,” 401 n 8.

(34) GKC §90.2.a (page 250).



ules, drop.” DCH define as “to diminish,” citing the verb’s appearance in *Job* 36:27 where it means, according to the dictionary, “to drip.”

The post-biblical Hebrew word, *בשול*, means, according to Jastrow, “ripening, cooking; dish.” Although the Greek translation assumes this word is in construct with the following word, this would form an irregularly long colon and is not necessary for the sense of the preceding colon. The division after *בשול* is also recommended by Rabinowitz and Deutsch, in contrast to the translations of Sanders, Delcor, and Skehan who make this verse syntactically dependent on the following verse. (36) Making this verse dependent on the following verse obscures the meaning of the analogy, i.e., that the benefit of seeking Wisdom in youth is realized in maturity. Such grammatical dependency seems incongruous with the poetic style of this poem and with that of *Sirach*.

Presumably, the metaphor of this bicolon implies something about the benefits of having continually sought Wisdom into old age. This is also the understanding of Rabinowitz. (37) The metaphor is interesting because it resonates with *Ben Sira*’s characterization of himself in relation to the great biblical writers; in 33:16 he characterizes himself as a gleaner coming behind the grape-harvesters.

**51:15c-d** The poem up to and including this bicolon treats, explicitly or implicitly through metaphor, the pursuit of Wisdom in youth through old age. In the section that follows the verses focus more particularly on the pursuit of Wisdom as a youth.

**51:17** Scholars are divided as to the word represented by the consonants *ועלה*. Sanders suggests this is a previously unattested word “nurse,” literally the feminine participle from the verb *עול* and he is followed by Deutsch and Delcor (who translates “nourrice”). (38) Rabinowitz prefers *עילה* (“And for me she has been the reason...”) and Skehan an unattested word *ועלה* from the root *יעל* (“Since in this way I have profited...”). (39) Conceivably, the letters could also represent the word “yoke” (*על*) with a dittographically produced *heh* (a reading reflected in the Syriac translation *IOA*<sup>h</sup> and the Cairo B text *עלה* = “her yoke”), or “stairway” (*עלה*). Sanders’s proposal, al-

(35) Sanders, DJD 4, 81.

(36) Rabinowitz, “Qumran Original,” 175, 177 and Deutsch, “The Sirach 51 Acrostic,” 402.

(37) Rabinowitz, “Qumran Original,” 177.

(38) Sanders, DJD 4, 82; *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 114-115 n 56; “Sirach 51:13ff.,” 189 n 15; Deutsch, “The Sirach 51 Acrostic,” 402 n 9; Delcor, “Le Texte hébreu du cantique de Siracide LI, 13 et ss.,” 33-34.

(39) Rabinowitz, “Qumran Original,” 177-178; Skehan “The Acrostic Poem,” 393.

though it seems plausible, is criticized by Rabinowitz since this verb is used for nursing animals, not humans, for which other words (like יִנֵּק) are used. (40) Note, however, that the root provides a word for suckling, עוּל, which includes suckling human infants (as in *Isa* 49:15). Sanders supports his reading with references to Wisdom as mother and bride in *Sir* 15:2-10. In that passage, however, Wisdom does not nurse, nor is she ever portrayed nursing, despite Wisdom's assertion in *Sir* 24:21, which Sanders cites, that those "drinking of me will remain thirsty" (Wisdom speaks in this passage metaphorically. Sanders's citation of the passage seems to imply that he thinks the poet is interpreting the passage literally.)

My preference for "yoke" is based on the clear meaning of the verse that this produces. This explanation seems simpler than suggesting a new word, or the use of a word (עוּל) in a new way. In addition, it is consistent with the image of Wisdom as a yoke found later in the same poem (v. 26), where it is associated with Wisdom's "burden" (מִשְׁאָה), and earlier in *Sir* 6:31, where the yoke of Wisdom is described as a "garment of glory" (בְּגֵדֵי כְבוֹד). This reading produces the possibility of word play with the following colon where מִלְמַד might be read as the word for goad, found in biblical and post-biblical Hebrew. Finally, a nurse is typically associated with comfort, not instruction (or glory).

The transcription of the final word of this verse in Hebrew (הוֹדִי) follows that of several commentators (Delcor; Skehan, and Rabinowitz), but differs from that of others who read הוֹדִי (Sanders and Deutsch). (41) Translations vary. Sanders translates "my ardor" in line with his erotic reading of the poem, citing the similar expression in *Prov* 5:9, while Skehan and Deutsch believe "praise" is more accurate. Rabinowitz translates "thanks"; Delcor "gloire." Each of these has its problems. Graphically, to judge from the photograph alone, the reading seems to reflect a final *waw*. In 11Q5 although *waws* and *yodhs* appear in varying lengths — sometimes even with *yodh* longer than an adjacent *waw* (see *11Q5* 23.6 [Ps 141:10]) — *yodhs* that follow *daleths* are (in my cursory analysis at least) always shorter than the vertical stroke of the *daleth*, while *waws* are either shorter than or the same length as the *daleth*'s vertical stroke. This argues against the reading of Sanders, since "his ardor" would not make sense. The word is unlikely to be the infinite absolute of the H-stem of יָדָה, as suggested by Rabinowitz, given the

(40) Rabinowitz, "Qumran Original," 177-178.

(41) Delcor, "Le Texte hébreu du cantique de Siracide LI, 13 et ss.," 31; Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem," 388; Rabinowitz, "Qumran Original," 175; Sanders, *DJD* 4, 80; idem, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 114; idem, "Sirach 51:13ff.," 188; Deutsch, "The Sirach 51 Acrostic," 402.

expected form הודה (42). The understanding of this word as “praise” is suggested by Skehan based, in part, on several biblical passages, most important of which is *Hab* 3:3. Although the words הוד and תהלה (praise) are associated together and set in parallel in *Hab* 3:3, this does not constitute proof that the former word had merged in its semantic range with the latter. Deutsch’s citation of other passages wherein הוד connotes “praise” are unconvincing, especially those she cites from *Sir* 51:1, 12 a-n, since in these passages it is not the noun הוד that appears but H-stem verbal forms from the root ידה. More attractive is Delcor’s translation “gloire,” since this reflects the basic meaning of the word as it is found in the Bible. In this it is similar to other words like כבוד. In the Bible, where the noun הוד appears with the verb נתן, a person (or deity) of superior status confers glory/authority on a person (or entity) of inferior status (*Num* 27:20; *Dan* 11:21; *Ps* 8:2; *Prov* 5:9; *1 Chr* 29:25). The notion in *Sir* 51:17 would appear to be similar to the expressions of *1 Sam* 6:5 and *Jer* 13:16 (תנו ליהוה אלהיכם כבוד ונתתם לאלהי ישראל כבוד) and of *Ps* 29:2 (הבו ליהוה כבוד שמו) “ascribe to the Lord the glory of his name”). If the orthography would allow for the reading of the last letter as a *yodh*, we could reconsider these conclusions (to suggest, e.g., a *plene* reading הידי “I give my ringing shout”). However, given the relatively certain reading of a *waw*, this is not necessary.

The antecedent to the 3ms pronoun is presumably the teacher (or goad), מלמד. The gender of this word results in the masculine pronoun. The reference ultimately could either be to Wisdom or God. Reference to the latter would be implicit and similar to the biblical usage of מלמד in *Isa* 48:17. (43)

**51:18** Although the verb שחק has a number of nuances, the one intended here is not too difficult to deduce. Given the fact that wisdom literature usually associates laughter with folly and foolishness (despite *Qohelet*’s reminder to us that there is an appropriate time for laughter), I assume that the verb is here in the D-stem and is used in the sense of “to sing,” as it is in *1 Sam* 18:7. This fits the context well, particularly given the understanding of the preceding colon. This means that we, unlike Deutsch, do not need to follow Skehan’s emendation of ואחשקה בה, his translation of the entire line reading: “I became resolutely devoted to her.” (44) Skehan’s emendation is based, in part, on his judgement that שחק is “incongruous” and on the reading of the Cairo B text: אחשקה נפשי בה, which even he recog-

(42) Rabinowitz, “Qumran Original,” 178.

(43) This last point is noted by Skehan, “The Acrostic Poem,” 393.

(44) Deutsch, “The Sirach 51 Acrostic,” 402; Skehan, “The Acrostic Poem,”

nizes as “secondary and influenced by *Gen* 34:8.” (45) Rabinowitz and DiLella, on the other hand, prefer to see here the root שחק, meaning “to tread,” rendering the colon respectively “‘and I trod her (path) constantly’ (lit.: ‘and I wore her down by treading’)” and “‘I resolved and wore her down (by treading).’” (46) Both Rabinowitz and DiLella cite the appearance of the same verb in the famous passage of *Sir* 6:36 about pursuing a teacher and “wearing away his doorstep” as evidence in favor of their interpretation; one should note, however, that the verb in 6:36 is used in a manner consistent with its use in the Bible where it implies effacing or destroying something, while the idea of effacing or “wearing away” Wisdom (explicitly rendered in DiLella’s translation and implied in Rabinowitz’s) seems inappropriate to this context, since wearing away Wisdom implies its destruction. If one wished to see here the verb שחק, a better understanding of the colon might be to infer the word “path” or “doorstep” and interpret the verb as a “waw-consecutive imperfect with pseudo-cohortative ending,” which is Skehan’s parsing. (47)

On the verbal rection of קנא + ב see *Deut* 32:21; *1 Kgs* 14:22, as listed by BDB.

**51:19a-a’** I understand the word נפש to be used in this verse in its reflexive sense. Conceivably it could be construed as meaning, soul or passion. The notion expressed seems to be an extension of that in the preceding colon, that is, another assertion of the poet’s passion for Wisdom. The rection of חרה with *beth* is, in the Bible, indicative of anger. Presumably, the poet does not intend this idea, but rather simply intends to convey his intense emotional experience of Wisdom. Note that other verbs of extreme emotion, like קנא of the preceding verse, sometimes carry both positive and negative associations.

**51:19a’’-b** It is commonly recognized that טרתי represents the verb טרד either with the *daleth* assimilated in pronunciation to the *taw* and thus misspelled without the *daleth* or with the *daleth* lost through haplography, the result of the adjacent *resh* and *daleth* looking so similar in the *Vorlage*. The verb occurs also in the Hebrew to *Sir* 32:9, which concerns correct behavior before superiors, there spelled correctly.

For the concept of Wisdom’s heights, see *Prov* 24:7. Note the mention of gate in that biblical verse and the reference to the same in the following verse here.

(45) Skehan, “The Acrostic Poem,” 388.

(46) Rabinowitz “Qumran Original,” 178 and Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 575.

(47) Skehan, “The Acrostic Poem,” 394.

**51:19c-d** For the first colon, I follow Skehan's and Deutch's interpretations, which follow the Syriac and B-text where יד is the subject of פתח, in contrast to the Greek translation ("I opened my hands") and the interpretation of Sanders and Delcor. (48) My favoring of the Syriac and B-text readings is, in part, due to the similarity in sense between 19d in *11Q5* and the analogous verse in the Syriac and B-text. The Greek to 19d reads: "I mourned my ignorance."

This verse refers to Wisdom's "hidden things." *Sir* 4:18 refers to Wisdom's secrets and 14:21 (in Greek) refers to pondering her secrets. Rabinowitz observes that the same phrase, as used in this poem, appears in 42:18 with the preposition *beth*, though in that passage the reference is not to Wisdom's secrets, but to the secrets or crafty ways of abyss and deep. (49)

**51:20 a-b** Since the verb ברח does not occur with the preposition אל, presumably, some verb of motion is to be understood in this colon.

The reconstruction of this and the following lines must be done largely from the Greek and Syriac translations, the B-text being a re-translation of the Syriac. Given the occasional disparity between the translations and the *11Q5* version, we must take any reconstruction with a grain of salt. Much of the reconstructed Hebrew is based on the work of Skehan. (50)

**51:21** For the first two words of 21a (מעני נכמרי), I follow Skehan's reconstruction. (51)

I read the verb בקש following these words, rather than Skehan's דרש in part because the former can be construed as "to desire," while דרש cannot. The Greek ἐκζητέω suggests דרש (*Exod* 18:5; 2 *Chr* 12:14; etc.), though does not rule out בקש (*Zech* 8:22).

**51:22** Skehan notes the parallel with *Isa* 50:4 and suggests this biblical verse should inform word order here. (52)

I assume that the single reference to God in the poem is to support the poet's continued assertions of his own power to encourage his pupils to seek out Wisdom. Notice that here the poem shifts attention from the personal experience of the poet/sage, to what God, Wisdom, or the foolish do or should do. Note the word play between אדני and אודני.

(48) Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem," 388-400; Deutch, "The Sirach 51 Acrostic," 402.

(49) Rabinowitz, "Qumran Original," 180.

(50) Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem," 387-400. For example, on בקיין, see *ibid.*, 396.

(51) Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem," 396-397.

(52) Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem," 397.

**51:23** For the first word of this verse, Skehan reads סור instead of the B-text's פנו. (53) Another possibility, in order to satisfy the acrostic structure, is to front the word סכלים as found in the B-text. (54) Skehan's reading reflects the word order of the Syriac and Greek. The Hebrew נבלים is preferred to Skehan's פתיים because the Greek ἀπαίδευτος translates נבל at *Prov* 17:21.

For the second colon of this verse, I follow Skehan. (55) The syntax and association between סור and לון is found in *Gen* 19:2. Note the harmony between words of the two cola, סור and מוסר, also the harmony between *lamedh-nun-beth* in each colon.

**51:24** Although Skehan reconstructs a hypothetical מאכלה at the end of the first colon of this verse, I follow the B-text's מן אילו, which has a basis not only in the Syriac, but also in the Greek. (56) Note the alliteration between *daleth-mem-taw* at the beginning and *mem-daleth* at the end.

**51:25** For the idiom of the first colon, see *Deut* 6:7. Conceivably, the line might be translated "I spoke by means of her," following the idiom in *Num* 12:2.

Although the Syriac contains the cognate of חכמה in the second colon (and subsequently the MS B text contains חכמה), most commentators assume, following the Greek translation, that the colon does not have the word for Wisdom, nor for that matter a pronominal object. As many have observed, the result of this is that no where in the poem is there the word "wisdom"; the subject of the poet's pursuit is implicitly referred to only through pronouns.

**51:26a-b** The order of words for this verse follows Skehan's model. (57) The subject could conceivably be נפשכם "your throat."

**51:26c-c'** For the second colon, Skehan notes the similar expressions in *I Chr* 22:19; *Sir* 7:20, 30:21, 38:34. (58)

**51:27** Skehan sees this as a tricolon and follows the Syriac translation. (59)

**51:28** The translation "through her" follows the Greek while "through me" reflects the Syriac. All things being equal, we might

(53) Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem," 397.

(54) This is proposed, e.g., by M.Z. Segal, *Sepher Ben Sira* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1953), 362.

(55) Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem," 397.

(56) Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem," 397.

(57) Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem," 388.

(58) Skehan, "The Acrostic Poem," 398.

expect the first person, since the first person appears in the preceding verse. Note, of course, that the focus shifts to God in the next lines.

**51:29** For the translations “his kindness” and “his praise,” the pronoun is 3ms in Greek and 1cs in Syriac. The reference of the Greek is to God, a subtle return to the same subject as the first verse of this paragraph (*Sir* 51:22). Conceivably, of course, the original composition could have included a feminine pronoun and referred to Wisdom.

**51:30** For *peh* as the concluding letter, see Skehan. (60) He cites *Psalms* 25 and 34 and explains this is for the purpose of spelling *aleph*.

In the second colon, the implied antecedent to the subject of “will give” is God. This reflects the Greek, while the Syriac avoids the problem of a vague antecedent by including a passive verb. The syntax of an active verb נתן follows that of *Gen* 30:18.

### Poetic Analysis

The Hebrew verses preserved in *1IQ5* allow us to analyze the poem’s line-length, though such evaluation must remain approximate due not only to the very imprecise nature of the measurements, but also to the reconstructed and hypothetical forms (>על<ה; >טר<ד<תי; >אדור<שנה). Despite such reservations, consideration of the poem’s first ten verses (51:13-19d) demonstrates that cola of a verse are often of the same or similar length. (61) When there is any discrepancy in line-length between cola of a bicolon, it is always the case that the second colon seems to have more syllables and/or consonants. (62) Comparison to poems within Sirach suggests that the approximate length of this poem’s lines corresponds to the length of lines in the poems preserved among Sirach’s later chapters. (63) Notice that the

(59) Skehan, “The Acrostic Poem,” 398.

(60) Skehan, “The Acrostic Poem,” 399 n 17. See also his article “They shall not be found in parables (*Sir* 38,33),” *CBQ* 23 (1961) 127.

(61) The tabulation of consonants-syllables-words for the first ten verses is the following (an asterisk marks a tabulation that is uncertain): 51:13 (6-4-2//9-6-2//7-5-1); 14 (9-6-3//14-8\*-2); 15a-b (12-7-3//12-7-3); 15c-d (14-8-3//14-9-2); 16 (14-8-3//13-8-3); 17 (9\*-6\*-3//13-8-3); 18 (11-7-2//17-9-3); 19a-a’ (11-6-3//14-8-2); 19a’’-b (11\*-6\*-3//14-8-2); 19c-d (12-9-3//14-9-2).

(62) 51:14, 15c-d, 17, 18, 19a-a’, 19a’’-b. Curiously, sometimes the second colon has fewer words than the first, though the number of syllables suggests that the second colon took longer to pronounce.

(63) From an analysis of colon-length among the poems preserved in the *Ben Sira Masada Scroll*, it seems that cola in the poems that precede the “Praise of the

other non-Masoretic poetic compositions from 11Q5 seem to express less regularity in relation to line-length.

Based on the respective topics or foci of the verses, the poem can be divided into three parts, or verse paragraphs. (64) The first, comprising 4 bicola (verses 13-15d), concerns the search for Wisdom as a young person as considered from the perspective of an older person. In each verse there is some reference to youth or aging. Verses 13 and 15c-d mention youth explicitly (נער and נעורי), the latter verse specifically referencing the perspective of an older person through the preposition *min*: “from my youth”; verse 14 refers to the search for Wisdom “until the end”; and verse 15a-b describes youth metaphorically as a “blossom” and aging as “ripening.” This section of the poem introduces the basic idea that one should start the search for Wisdom in youth and implies that this pursuit should continue throughout life. The second part of the poem is more than twice as long as the first, including nine bicola, verses 16-21. These verses speak of the poet’s passion for Wisdom when he was a young man and is characterized by the sexually allusive language. The third part, comprising 10 bicola (verses 22-30), is characterized by the poet’s plea to the foolish and others to follow his example. As in the first verse paragraph, the poet speaks from the perspective of experience and age. The last verse also functions as a conclusion to the entire poem. (65) The macro-structure of the poem demonstrates a rhetorical sensitivity, first illustrating personal experience and then exhorting the reader. From a structural perspective, the two-part division of

Ancestors” (Sir 44-50:24) are slightly longer than those in the last chapters (E.D. Reymond, “Even unto a Spark: An Analysis of the Parallelistic Structure in the Wisdom of Ben Sira 40:11-44:15,” [Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1999]). Although space prohibits a thorough analysis of all the details and exceptions, the poems from chapters 40:11-43:33 generally have lines ranging between 13-16 consonants, 7-10 syllables, and 3-4 words, while the poetry from 44:1-15 has lines ranging between 12-14 consonants, 7-9 syllables, and 2-3 words. Significantly, while approximately only 1/16<sup>th</sup> of the cola in 40:11-43:33 contain only 2 words, almost 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the cola in 44:1-15 contain only 2 words. This corresponds nicely with 51:13-19, where 8 out of 21 cola contain only 2 words.

(64) “Verse paragraph” is the term used by the *New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* to describe units of verse “unified by a dominant mood or thought,” analogous to paragraphs in prose (*New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* [eds. A. Preminger and T.V.F. Brogan; Princeton: Princeton University, 1993], 1352). I avoid terms like “strophe” and “stanza” due to their associations with isometrical structure, that is the recognizable repetition of a metrical pattern or number of lines; Northwest-Semitic poetry from this era does not appear to contain such predictable units.

(65) My division of the poem into macro-units is quite close to that of DiLella, though he considers verse 22 part of the middle verse paragraph (Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 577). Note that I do not agree with him and Skehan that this division is “marked” by the 3ms pronominal suffix.



the poem, with introductory and concluding verses, is another characteristic shared between this poem and the poetry of *Sirach*. (66)

The poem begins with a tri-colon, though the verse would appear to be, as a whole, the same length as other bicola, instead of 33% longer, as one might have expected. The tri-colon structure is somewhat incongruous because it breaks the relatively obvious pattern that persists through the rest of the verse paragraph, where a *beth*-prepositional phrase concludes each initial colon (“in her beauty” בַּתְּרָה; “in the ripening” בַּבְּשׂוּל; “(in) a flat plain” בַּמִּישׁוֹר). Grouping בָּטָרָם with the verb “I wandered” means that this pattern is broken. (67) Furthermore, the appearance of a tri-colon here and later in verse 27 is the most striking way that this poem differs in its structure from the poetry found in the rest of *Sirach*, which is overwhelmingly dominated by the bicolon.

The mention of “boy” (נֶעָר) in the first colon is important because it is mirrored in the final colon of the first verse paragraph (15d) by the word “youth” (נַעֲוָר); such loose chiasmic patterning also appears in the third verse paragraph, in the repetition of “give a reward” in 22a and 30b.

The implicit notion of the third verse (51:15a-b) is that the pursuit of Wisdom reaches its fulfillment only later in life. (68) It is this idea, further emphasized in the third verse paragraph (especially verse 30), that suggests the poem’s analogy between sexual desire and the desire for Wisdom does not extend to the gratification of these desires. The poem does not celebrate the pursuit of Wisdom as something that brings immediate satisfaction, which seems to be a hallmark of the erotic. (69)

The second section of the poem is formally characterized by the first-person singular perfect verbal forms, the first-person pronominal suffixes, and the concentration of words that carry a sexual connotation. The verbs, as in the last paragraph, are chiasmatically aligned to-

(66) See, e.g., the poem that covers the subject of shame in 41:14a-42:8, which is divided in two parts with introductions and conclusions to each part; the poem on daughters 42:9-14, which breaks into two paragraphs, one covering a father’s concerns over a daughter and the other instructions for fathers; as well as the prelude to the “Praise of the Ancestors,” 44:1-15, which also breaks neatly into two halves, the first addressing those ancestors who achieved fame in their lifetime and the second addressing those who won eternal fame and renown through their piety (Reymond, *Innovations in Hebrew Poetry*, 49-60, 78-84).

(67) One is tempted to suggest an adverbial usage of בָּטָרָם and translate “I was a boy previously, / I wandered around and sought her,” though such a use for בָּטָרָם is unattested.

(68) Similar ideas are expressed in *Sir* 6:8.

(69) Although Snaith does not recognize the erotic dimension to the poem, he does mention its “emphasis on quick reward (verse 16),” which verse he translates “I had hardly begun to listen when I was rewarded” (*Ecclesiasticus*, 261, 259).

ward the beginnings and endings of verses. (70) Usually this chiasmic pattern is complemented by other syntactic elements in similar mirror relationships to one another. (71) In addition, a pattern emerges between the verses; each of the second cola begins with a modifier phrase, with three exceptions (verses 18b, 18d', 21). (72) The general emphasis on the first person reflects the focus of this paragraph, that is the speaker's personal experience pursuing Wisdom as a young person. This experience, as part of the past, is emphasized with the perfect verbs that occur in every initial colon, while the imperfect verbs (which appear at the end of five verses) emphasize that the pursuit of Wisdom does not reach its terminus in youth. (73) The first verse of the second paragraph is interesting because it exhibits semantic parallelism between its two cola, a structure that is common to biblical poetry, but rare here and in *Sirach*. Note that it complements the sense division of the text, as does the semantic parallelism that appears between the first cola of the third verse paragraph. The sexually allusive language of the poem is discussed below in the conclusion.

The third section witnesses a shift to a slightly different register and focus, where the poet directly addresses his audience and begins speaking of God. The tonal and focal shift is marked by the obvious reference to "the Lord," a presence heretofore unmentioned in the poem. The switch between topics is not altogether unprecedented since the non-canonical *Psalms* 154, also from 11Q5, attests a similar shift, in that poem from a focus on God to Wisdom.

This section of the poem is more difficult to discuss structurally given the fact that we do not know its original form in Hebrew. Nevertheless, if we can trust the reconstruction, the paragraph begins with an obvious semantic pair between, לשון and שפה as well as a phonetic pair between אדני and אודנו. Like the first verse paragraph, the third paragraph is bracketed by a lexical repetition in its first and last verses, the repetition of the words נתן and שכר. (74) Among the other notable features are the phonetic parallels between מוסר // סורו and אלי נבליים // לינו בבית in verse 23; the weak semantic link between cola of a verse in verse 24, between חסר and צמא; the sequence of verse-initial volitive verbs in verses 27-30. (75) The poem concludes

(70) Verbs appear as the first word in 51:16, 18, 19a-a', 19a''-b, and as the second word in 17, 19c-d, 20a-b, 20c-d\*, and 21. Verbs appear as the last word in 51:18, 19a-a', 19a''-b, 19c-d, 20a-b\*, 20c-d\* and as the next-to-last word in 16, 17, and 21.

(71) For example, objects and/or modifier phrases are organized chiasmically in 51:17, 19a-a', 19a''-b, 20a-b\*, and 20c-d\*.

(72) Note that in 19b-21b these modifier phrases begin with a *beth* preposition, though four of these cases are reconstructed.

(73) 51:17, 18, 19a''-b, 19c-d, and 20c-d\*.

(74) Additionally, there is a semantic link between ידה in 22b and תהלה in 29b.

(75) I assume תשמח is a jussive, as the verb in the next colon is a jussive.

with strong grammatical parallelism (VOM//VOM) in verse 30, as well as a repetitive parallel between **בעתי** at the end of each colon.

## Conclusion

As is clear in my translation and philological notes, I do not endorse the sexual interpretation for all the words listed above, in this paper's introduction. However, it is undeniable that some of the poem's words and phrases are part of the sexual vocabulary and imagery of ancient Hebrew. Of those words and phrases that have been interpreted as sexual innuendoes, those most suggestive of erotic desire are those using imagery or idioms with precedents in Biblical Hebrew; these include the association of fire (and, by extension, heat) with sexual passion ("I, myself, burned for her" [18c'], "my inner self burned to pursue her" [21a]), a biblical precedent for which can be found, for example, in *Cant* 8:6; and the association of "hand" with penis and the association of "opening" with sex itself ("My hand open[ed her gates] [19c]), biblical precedents for which can be found in a single passage, in *Cant* 5:2-4. (76) Although other words and phrases, like **ידע**, have obvious sexual connotations, I do not believe that they point directly to sex or deserve an erotic translation. And this is even more the case with regard to other words like **כף**, **רגל**, **טוב**, **לקה**. Translations and interpretations that too heavily emphasize the sexual dimension to the poem risk obscuring the poem's main message, that pursuit of Wisdom in youth leads to rewards later in life.

In part, the hesitancy to find sexual innuendoes in the poem, or in a part of it, may be due to the inherent contradiction and paradox that such allusions produce. One might well ask, for example: Does the author actually wish to encourage chaste, righteous behavior through erotically charged poetry? (77) It might be noted, therefore,

(76) *Cant* 8:6c-f reads: "... for love (is) strong like death, / passion (**קנאה**) relentless as Sheol; // its flames (are) flames of fire, / a powerful flame." The pertinent passage from *Cant* 5:2-4 includes a shift in speaker from the male to the female: "'Open for me, my sister...' 'My lover sent his hand through the hole...'" Collins notes the resonances between the *Sirach* verse (19c) and the *Canticles* passage and writes (in relation to the *Sirach* verse): "The erotic element in these verses is undeniable" (*Jewish Wisdom*, 54).

(77) Deutsch suggests the erotic imagery functions to "engage the audience," while Sanders suggests it implies that the reader should apply sexual desire and energy into the chaste pursuit of Wisdom (Deutsch, "The *Sirach* 51 Acrostic," 406 and Sanders, "*Sirach* 51:13ff.," 187). More likely, I think, is the suggestion that Wisdom provides everything that one would want. In 6:28-31 Wisdom is described as a beautiful throne, a robe of gold, and as jewelry, and in 15:2 as a mother and young wife. Taken together, Ben Sira seems to be saying in his book that following Wisdom will result in acquiring (later in life) all the material (and spiritual) benefits one could want, including a mate. As Collins observes, there is no reason to assume, as Sanders does, that the audience or author were celibate (*Jewish Wisdom*, 54).

that *Ben Sira* makes a comparison between Wisdom and a young bride in 15:2. Furthermore, *Ben Sira* has recommended pursuing Wisdom to her house and “looking into her windows and listening at her doors” (14:23), an analogy to the way men sometimes pursued young women or girls they desired, as suggested by the description of the boor doing just these things in 21:23a-22b. (78) Thus, the poem’s characterization of Wisdom and her pursuit falls in line with *Ben Sira*’s own characterizations of erotic pursuit.

Considering all the structures of the poem reveals an intricate, peculiar design. Although parallelism within a single colon is rare (due to the brevity of individual cola), repetitive pairs occur in this distribution at the end of the second verse paragraph and in the verse that concludes the poem. (79) Even phonetic parallelism plays a relatively minor role in this distribution.

Parallelism between cola of individual verses is the dominant distribution in biblical poetry, where we find semantic, repetitive, grammatical, and phonetic poetry usually working simultaneously together. Such dominance is also found in the non-canonical poetry from 11Q5. In this poem, however, there are surprisingly few semantic parallels between cola of a verse; such parallels do occur, however, at structurally significant parts of this poem, namely at the beginning of verse paragraphs. (80) Grammatical parallelism, by contrast, occurs frequently between cola of individual verses. (81) Although the predictability of syntactic units within individual verses would allow for the elision or “gapping” of verbs in second cola, this is never encountered, something that can be attributed to the absence of semantic associations between words within the verse. (82) The fact that each verse contains at least two predicates, usually where the syntactic elements of one colon are parallel to those in its mate, re-

(78) DiLella notes that 14:23 alludes to similar imagery in *Cant* 2:9 and also connects this with *Sir* 21:23a-22b (Skehan and DiLella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 264). Skehan translates the latter passage: “A boor peeps through the doorway of a house, / but a tactful person keeps his glance cast down” (ibid., 305).

(79) 51:21 (קנה קנין) and 51:30 (פעל פעל).

(80) 51:16 (הרבה // מעט), 22 (שפה // לשון). Semantic parallelism between cola of a verse also appears in 19a-b (טרד // שלה) and 27b-c (מעט // הרבה). There is a weak link between סור and לין in 23 and חסר and צמא in 24.

(81) The degree to which grammatical parallelism is present in the reconstructed second part of the poem is difficult to determine because it is especially hard to predict what the word order of these verses would be. But, consistent syntactic parallelism in what parts of the poem that still exist is clear; the chiasmic patterns of verbs that appear at the beginning and end of verses is rather consistent in the first two sections of the poem.

(82) On gapping and ellipsis in Hebrew poetry, see C.L. Miller, “Ellipsis Involving Negation in Biblical Poetry,” in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (eds. R.L. Troxel et al.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 37-52.

sults in some semantic associations between words that would otherwise not seem similar, but which seem important for the poem's theme: בוא // דרש (14), קנה // לא-עזב (20c-d), נתן // ידה (22). (83) Phonetic parallelism may appear in the (reconstructed) repetition of *aleph-daleth-nun* between the cola of verse 22 and in the repetition of *samekh-resh* between cola of verse 23.

As for parallels between adjacent verses, semantic and repetitive parallelism appears most commonly in this distribution, creating strings of loose associations between words; especially noticeable are the words for body parts. (84) Grammatical parallelism is also of significance in this distribution since the consistent patterns between adjacent verses often complement the sense division of the text. (85) Phonetic parallels appear between the two consonant combinations *qoph-nun* and *kaph-nun* between verses 20a-21.

The most important parallels separated by a verse or more are the repetitive links that bracket the poem or verse paragraphs or that otherwise complement the sense-divisions of the text. (86)

These parallelistic structures all have analogs in the poetry of *Sirach*, though the most significant are those structures that are typical of *Sirach* and atypical of biblical poetry, including especially the following: 1. The rarity of semantic/repetitive parallelism between cola of a verse, with the tendency for this type and distribution of parallelism to appear primarily in structurally significant verses; 2. the importance of grammatical parallelism between cola of a verse and the resultant creation of associations between otherwise semantically dissimilar words; 3. the absence of verbal elision or gapping; and 4. the important role of grammatical parallelism between adjacent verses in creating patterns that complement the division of the text

(83) The first pair suggests reciprocity, the second suggests the ultimate benefit of acquiring Wisdom is not feeling isolated, and the third pair suggests a connection between what God does for humanity and what humanity does for God.

(84) Note רגל (15c) and איון (16a); נפש // פנים (19a/a'), נפש (19a''), יד (19c), כף (20a), לב (20c), מעים (21a), לשון // שפה (22a/b); and פה (25a), נפש // צואר, נפש (26a/b), נפש (26c'), עין (27a). Many of these nouns also share another trait: most carry the 1cs possessive suffix. Notice that several of these word pairs stretch across the boundaries between verse paragraphs. Among the other words that are linked repetitively between adjacent verses are the repetition of שוב (18b-19a') and נפש (19a-19a'') and קנה (20c-21b).

(85) Note, for example, the appearance of 1cs morphemes (on nouns and perfect verbs) on the first words of each verse in the second verse paragraph and the sequence of prepositional phrases (each beginning with *beth*) that end each first colon in verses 14 through 15c-d or that begin each second colon in verses 19a''-b through 21.

(86) Of these, note especially: בקש (in verses 51:13, 21, 26c-d'), שמו (in verses 15a-b and 29), קנה (in verses 20c-d, 21, 25, 28), נתן (in verses 22, 26c-c', 30), and שכר (in verses 22, 30). The consistent appearance of some words also contributes to giving the poem a sense of coherency; see, e.g., מצא (in verses 16, 20a-b, 26c-c', 27), and נפש (in verses 19a-a', 19a''-b, 26a-b, 26c-c', and 29).

into verse paragraphs. (87) What makes these traits all the more significant is that they are, by-and-large, not shared with the canonical or non-canonical material from 11Q5. Together with the consistencies, noted above, between the approximate length of lines in 51:13-19c-d (as attested in the 11Q5 scroll) and the length of lines in the later chapters of Sirach, these common traits suggest that Ben Sira was, in fact, the author of this poem. This finds further confirmation in the division of the poem into two roughly equal halves, with a brief introductory paragraph, and in the paradoxical comparison between the pursuit of Wisdom and the pursuit of a bride. The single feature that truly seems unlike the rest of Ben Sira's poetry is the use of the tricolon, though this slight inconsistency (occurring in only two verses) seems outweighed by the mountain of evidence suggesting a common authorship.

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(87) See Reymond, *Innovations in Hebrew Poetry*, 1-2, 98-99, 108-110, 137-138).

# THE VOLUNTEERS IN THE *RULE OF THE COMMUNITY*

## A Biblical Notion in Sectarian Garb

### *Abstract*

The article examines the meaning of the term *mitnadevim* ("volunteers") as a technical appellation for the members of the Qumran community, chiefly in the *Rule of the Community*. It is shown that the term is based on the biblical cultic terminology of a free-will offering (*Lev* 22:21), and a free-will contributions made to the temple (*Ezra* 1:6, 2:68-69; *Nehemiah* 11:2; *1 Chronicles* 29). Transformed into figurative expressions these terms refer to the free-will offering made by the sectarians of their own life within the community. The transition from the concrete cultic language into the figurative sectarian nomenclature is particularly clear on comparison between *Lev* 22:21 and *IQS* IX, 5.

THE term מתנדבים is especially prominent in the *Rule of the Community* as a designation for those who join the Qumran community. The cave 1 copy of the *Rule* being one of the first two Qumran scrolls to be published, this term has been subjected time and again to detailed scholarly examination. However, most of the discussions were published during the initial phase of Qumran research and centred on the ideological links of the term, such as its relationship to the idea of predestination (1) or to the community's self-understanding as a sacral entity. (2) Occasionally the biblical

(1) Cf. F. Nötscher, "Schicksalsglaube in Qumran und Umwelt," *Vom Alten zum Neuen Testament* (BBB 17; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1962), 33-34; J. Licht, "The Concept of *Nedabah* in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in J. Liver (ed.), *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1957), 77-84 (Hebrew).

(2) Cf. A. Fitzgerald, "Mtndbym in IQS," *CBQ* 36 (1974): 495-502; H. Lichtenberger, "Atonement and Sacrifice in the Qumran Community," in W.S. Green (ed.), *Approaches to Ancient Judaism*, II (Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 159-171 (esp. 161-162).

background of this term was noted, although this aspect remained in the shadow of theological considerations. However, much is to be gained by approaching the designation *mitnadevim* from the perspective of its biblical background and links. By detaching the threads which constitute the fabric of biblical allusions entwining this term I hope to draw a clearer picture of its meaning and function, and to make some suggestions as to the exegetical basis on which these rest.

Let me begin with some fundamental data. The word **מתנדבים** is the masculine plural participle of the *hithpa'el* form from the root **נ.ד.ב**. The basic meaning of **נ.ד.ב**, "to impel, to stir," comes out in locutions with *qal* verbs **נ.ד.ב ל.ב** and **נ.ד.ב ר.ו.ח** of *Exodus* 25:2, 35:21. (3) But most of the biblical occurrences stand in the *hithpa'el* and denote the attitude of doing something willingly. This is the sense of the expression **המתנדבים בעם**, "those who enlist as volunteers" for battle, in the Song of Deborah (*Judges* 5:2, 9). Yet most of the *hithpa'el* forms come in the later biblical books, Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles (e.g., *Ezra* 3:5; *Neh* 11:2; *1 Chr* 29:5-6, 9,17; *2 Chr* 17:16), as well as several instances in the Aramaic portions of *Ezra* (*Ezra* 7:13, 15-16). Almost all of them are connected with a free-will activity related to the Temple. The element of free will is also present in the derivative noun **נדבה**, mostly denoting a free-will offering (e.g. *Exod* 35:29; *Lev* 7:16; *Num* 29:39; *Ezek* 46:12; *2 Chr* 31:14). (4) Occasionally the word is used adverbially to indicate an activity performed voluntarily, as in *Hosea* 14:15. (5)

The Qumran texts preserve chiefly the meaning of a free-will attitude. However, as in the biblical style, so in the Qumran texts a clear distinction is to be made between the concrete cultic sense and its more figurative one. The difference is clearly discernable in the

(3) *Sirach* 45:23 (ms B) employs the locution **נ.ד.ב ל.ב** of the action of Phineas son of Aharon against the Midianites (*Num* 25:11-13; *Ps* 106:30) **והם פינחס...בנקאו** ("and Phineas too,...when, zealous for the God of all, he met the crisis of his people; free-willingly he atoned for the people of Israel"). Note the link between the voluntary act of Phineas and the atonement for the Israelites it brought about, a link developed by the Qumran texts (cf. below).

(4) Cf. P. Joüon, "Racine **נ.ד.ב**," *Bib* 16 (1935): 422-430; J. Conrad, "**נ.ד.ב**," *ThWAT* 5 (1986), 237-245; L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner et al., *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden-New York-Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), vol. 2, 671-672; D.J.A. Clines, *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), vol. 5, 618-620. But cf. n. 15.

(5) *Hosea*'s expression (14:15) **אהבם נדבה** ("I will love them free willingly") is taken up by *Hodayot* VI, 26; VII, 13. The use of **נדבה** by the Psalmist (*Ps* 54:8-**לך בנדבה אוכחה**) is usually understood as the object of the verb and is translated "with a free-will offering I sacrifice to you." However, syntactically the expression **בנדבה** may be understood adverbially so the translation would be "free-willingly I sacrifice for you." The same adverbial use of this noun appears in *IQS* IX, 24 **ירצה בנדבה** ("he will welcome freely"), but there without apparent cultic overtones. Cf. below.



use of the noun נדבה. Qumran texts related to biblical legislation take up the noun נדבה in the literal cultic sense of a free-will offering. Such is the case of lists of sacrifices recorded by the *Temple Scroll* and the *Reworked Pentateuch*. (6) In the same cultic sense comes the plural נדבות in the *Damascus Document* XVI, 13, (7) heading a section dealing with voluntary vows, (8) or the singular form used by the wisdom work *4QInstruction* (4Q414 2 iv 7). But in themes of the sectarian ideology and its peculiar vocabulary, the noun *nedava* appears only in a figurative sense. It appears in construct pairs such as נדבת מלחמה (“a free-will offering of battle” — *IQM* VII, 5) or נדבת שפתים (“a free-will offering of lips” — 4Q258 VII, 5). At times the scrolls use this noun in adverbial constructions, for example, ירצה בנדבה (“he will free-willingly aspire to”) of the *Rule of the Community* (*IQS* IX, 24), on which more will be said below. Another instance is offered by *Hodayot* נדבה ואהבכה (“and I free-willingly love you” — *IQH<sup>a</sup>* VI, 26 (9)).

Interestingly, very few verbal forms of the root נדב occur in the scrolls. When the authors of the Qumran texts wish to express a free-will activity they usually use participles with infinitives. Only two cases of future-tense verbs are recorded in the extant Qumran texts, both in the *hithpa'el*. The two verbs appear in fragmentary contexts, one in a reworking of the Pentateuch (4Q368 10 i 6) and the other in a *Hodayot*-like text (4Q433a 2 5). In all other cases the *hithpa'el* masculine plural participle מתנדבים is used. As shown below, the *nif'al* participle נדבים, which features twice in the *Rule* (*IQS* I, 7, 11 (10)), is a variant of the *hithpa'el* participle.

Note that the participle מתנדבים occurs only in sectarian texts and always designates members of the Qumran community. Not surprisingly, most of such occurrences show up in the *Rule of the Community*, concerned as it is with the community and its members' duties. But the appearance of the term in other texts, like the *Pesher on Micha* (*IQpMic* [*IQ14*] 8-10 7) and various fragmentary passages (*IQ31* 1 1; 4Q368 10 i 6; 4Q433a 2 5), suggests that in the sectarian literature the word became an accepted designation for the members of the Yahad. It is thus one of the most typical terms of the sectarian vocabulary.

The nature of the term *mitnadevim* emerges better through the elements attached to it. Only in a single instance does it stand in an absolute form, in *IQS* V, 8. In all other cases the participle is linked to nouns or adverbial infinitives, defining the type of the object or the

(6) Cf. 4Q365 (4QRP<sup>c</sup>) 23 7; 4Q366 (4QRP<sup>d</sup>) 4 i 7; 11QT<sup>u</sup> 29:5.

(7) Also preserved in the cave 4 copy 4Q271 4 ii 13.

(8) Reading על משפט הנדבות (“concerning the regulation for free-will offerings”).

(9) Cf. n. 5 above.

activity to which the free-will attitude is applied. (11) The precise meaning of the designation *mitnadevim* is expressed in the full list of these affixed elements:

Volunteering for activities:

להשיב מכל רע - “those who freely volunteer to return from all evil” (*IQS* V,1);

להתנדבים יחד לאמתו ולהתהלך ברצונו - “those who freely volunteer (together for His truth) and to walk according to His will” (*IQS* V, 10);

להתנדבים ביחד להקים את בריתו ולפקוד את כל חוקיו אשר צוה לעשות - “those who freely volunteer together (or: in the community) to set up His covenant and to remember all the decrees which He commanded” (*IQS* V, 21-22. Compare *4Q258* II, 1-2);

להתנדבים יחד (לשבט יחד) לבריתו - “those who freely volunteer to return (sit — *4Q261* 1 2) together (or: within the community) to His covenant” (*IQS* V, 22; *4Q261* 1 2 does not have “to His covenant”);

וכול המתנדב מישראל להוסיף על עצת היחד - “and anyone from Israel who freely volunteers to join the congregation of the community” (*IQS* VI, 13-14);

להתנדבים לוסף על בחירי [אל] - “those who freely volunteer to join the chosen of [God]” (*IQpMich*[*IQ14*] 8-10 7).

Volunteering for a cause or organizational pattern:

להתנדבים לקודש באהרון ולבית אמת בישראל - “...those who freely volunteer for the holiness in Aharon and for the house of truth in Israel” (*IQS* V, 6);

להתנדבים יחד לאמתו - “those who freely volunteer together for his truth” (*IQS* V, 10).

Twice *nif'al* instead of *hithpa'el* participles from the root נד"ב appear. (12) They occur in the description of the ceremony of the covenant, which opens the *Rule of the Community*. They take the same type of objects or verbal complements attached to the *hithpa'el* participles. The first instance reads הנדבים לעשות חוקי אל, “those who freely volunteer to act according to the laws of God” (*IQS* I,7). Note the close similarity of this phrase to *IQS* V, 21-22, which employs the *hithpa'el* participle. The second instance of a *nif'al* participle is

(10) The construct plural of this participle also appears in an apocryphal psalm found in cave 11 (*11Q11* V, 3).

(11) For the participle with infinitive in biblical parlance see *Neh* 11:2 בירושלם (“those who volunteer to settle in Jerusalem”). For the participle with a noun cf. *Ezra* 3:5 מתנדב נדבה (“the one who volunteers a free-will offering”). In most biblical occurrences the *hithpa'el* with a noun stands as a verb. Cf. *1 Chr* 29: 9, 14, 17.

(12) Note also the passive form מנדבים, a plural participle of *pu'al*, which occurs once in *4Q501* 3.

found in the same column (*IQS* I, 11): הנדבים לאמתו “those who freely volunteer for His truth.” In this case the formulation is identical to the phrase of *IQS* V, 10, which also uses a *hithpa’el* participle. Clearly, the forms נדבים/מתנדבים are closely related semantically and contextually, and may be viewed as variants of the same usage and idea within the *Rule of the Community*. (13)

The foregoing roster of activities and entities related to the volunteers serves to demarcate the areas and issues that the members of the community handled free-willingly. The volunteers undertook to stay clear of all evil, to comply with the divine commandments, to adhere to God’s covenant, and to join the holy community of the elect under a priestly leadership. As a whole, the list constitutes a concise definition of the basic aims and ideals of the Qumran community, which are defined in more detail in other sections of the sectarian literature. It shows that the Qumranites’ free-will approach to their obligations constituted their particular virtue and their great merit. What is the origin of this notion, and how did it function within the sectarian ideology?

To grasp the full significance of this all-encompassing free-will attitude we must return to its biblical sources, in particular to the use of the *hithpa’el* constructions. Aside from the isolated case of the Song of Deborah in connection with battle — a usage echoed in the *War Scroll* (*IQM* VII, 5 (14)), almost all the other *hithpa’el* occurrences in the Hebrew Bible are related to free-will offerings brought to the Temple. (15) This is true of *1 Chronicles* 29, which describes David’s preparations for the building of the Solomonic temple. As commentators have observed, the verb נדב is repeatedly used by this chapter to stress the free-will attitude whereby David and the people contributed various materials for the future temple (*1 Chr* 29:5-6,9,14,17). (16) The Chronicler clearly echoes the preparations for

(13) Cf. J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 60 (Hebrew). These two participles are hardly pointers of a different source, as is often claimed. The presence of distinct sources in *IQS* has to be argued on the basis of other divergent facets.

(14) כולם יהיו אנשי נדבת מלחמה ותמימי רוח ובשר (“All will be men of a free-will offering of battle, without blemish in spirit and in flesh”). Cf. nn. 36, 37 below.

(15) Robert Polzin proposes that this *hithpa’el* is a Late Biblical Hebrew denominative from the noun *nedavah*. Cf. idem, *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 12; Missoula, Mon.: Scholars Press, 1976), 135-136.

(16) Cf. S. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (Old Testament Library; London: SCM Press, 1993), 508, 511. J.P. Weinberg believes that the voluntary contributions and participation in public and communal enterprises were a practice that developed particularly in postexilic times. Cf. idem, “The Word *ndb* in the Bible: A Study in Historical Semantics and Biblical Thought,” in Z. Zevit, S. Gitin & M. Sokoloff (eds.), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 365-375.

the building of the Tabernacle, for which the Israelites voluntarily contributed the requisite materials (*Exod* 25:2; 35:21,29). The semantic development that took place between the Torah text and the *Chronicler's* account is exemplified by the fact that the voluntary offerings to the Tabernacle are described by the verb נָדַב in the *qal*, whereas the *Chronicler* has recourse only to the *hithpa'el* forms. (17) The *hithpa'el* forms come in a similar context and carry a similar emphasis in *Ezra's* description of the returnees from Babylon. Again the *hithpa'el* of the verb נָדַב designates the voluntary offer of materials and animals by those who prepared to return to Judaea, as well as those who stayed behind in Babylon (*Ezra* 1:6). The same use and context recur in *Ezra's* account in 2:68-69 of how the heads of the families contributed money and priestly vestments. In *Ezra* 3:5 the reference is explicitly to the cultic sacrifices made on the re-established altar, including voluntary offerings (הַמִּתְנַדֵּב נִדְבָה). Even the single mention in *Neh* 11:2 of "mitnadevim to settle in Jerusalem" may not be purely secular, (18) but may have been connected with some cultic function. (19) Obviously, in later biblical times the *hithpa'el* of נָדַב acquired the special sense of free-will initiatives related to the cultic sphere. (20)

The Qumranites appear to have borrowed the participle *mitnadevim* already invested with a particular cultic meaning, for they were certainly familiar with the accounts of *Ezra* and the *Chronicler*. (21) At Qumran the concrete cultic vocabulary of the biblical texts was transformed into figurative terminology, yet it never lost its cultic flavour. Typical of the sectarian style, this figurative terminology is expressed through various biblical allusions and other sectarian formulations.

Standing at the beginning of the organizational section of the *Rule of the Community*, the "order to the volunteers" opens with a

(17) In the *Chronicler's* list of military commanders of King Yehoshafat, Amasiah son of Zichri, "who volunteered to the Lord" (הַמִּתְנַדֵּב לַיהוָה), is mentioned (2 *Chr* 17:16). That Amasiah's voluntary activity bore a cultic character is suggested by the similar cultic expressions elsewhere (cf. *Ezra* 3:5; 1 *Chr* 29: 5).

(18) As suggested by Weinberg, "The Word *ndb*" (n. 16 above), 372.

(19) The cultic background is indicated by the biblical statement that the settlers in Jerusalem were the tithe of the population. Cf. J. Blenkinsopp, *Ezra-Nehemiah* (*Old Testament Library*; London: SCM Press, 1988), 323.

(20) In the Septuagint the verb ἐκούσιαζομαι usually translates the *hithpa'el* forms of נָדַב. Cf. e.g. *Judges* 5:2, 9; *Ezra* 2:68; *Neh* 11:2. Interestingly, 1 *Macc* 2:42 has a combination similar, though not identical, to the Qumran locutions: 'ο ἐκούσιαζόμενος τῷ νόμῳ ("the volunteers for the Torah"). Note too Philo's use of the adjective ἐκούσιος ("willingly") to describe the Essenes attitude in taking care of elderly members of their community. Cf. Philo, *Hypothetica* cited by Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica* VIII, 11.13.

(21) Fragments of both writings were found at the library of Qumran. For *Ezra* see 4Q117 and for *Chronicles* see 4Q118. Cf. G. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 291-297.

general definition of the nature of “those who volunteer to the Yahad” and the tasks set before them. They are defined by four infinitives, forming two complementary pairs. The first pair instructs the sectarians “to return from all that is evil,” namely to repent past sins, and “to hold to everything He [God] has commanded,” namely to adhere the Torah’s laws as understood by the Yahad. The second pair requires them “to separate from the congregation of sinful men,” namely to keep a segregated life, apart from contemporary evils. On the other hand it commands them “to be a community in study and in property” according to the sectarian regulations, (22) meaning to practice it within the communal framework. Having set down the main functions and activities of the community the *Rule* goes on to define the goal of such an undertaking (1QS V,5-6):

ליסד מוסד אמת לישראל ליחד ברית עולם לכפר לכול המתנדבים לקודש  
באהרן ולבית האמת בישראל

...in order to lay a truthful foundation for Israel for the community of an eternal covenant, in order to atone for all the volunteers to the sanctuary in Aharon and to the house of truth in Israel.

Here we already meet the elements which built up the image of a sacral community, creating a reality comparable to a temple. For the communal life of the Yahad is likened to laying a foundation to “the House of Truth.” “There is no need to repeat here what has been written in the past on the meaning of “the House,” *הבית*, a regular appellation for the Temple in Jerusalem, both in the Bible and in the scrolls. As has been noted, the identification of the community with a temple is especially striking in the *4QFlorilegium* definition of the community as “a temple of man” (*4QFlor* 1 i 6). (23) But what has not been properly analysed is the meaning of expression “to establish a foundation” (*ליסד מוסד*) in this context. This is a clear reference to *Isa* 28:16 and to the peshar on this verse, developed in another section of the *Rule* (*IQS* VIII,7-8). The *Isaiah* verse speaks of a special

(22) In this respect there is a significant difference between the reading of *IQS* and two of cave 4 copies. *IQS* V,2-3 defines the community of study and property “according to the Sons of Zadok the keepers of the Covenant and according to the majority of the members of the Yahad” whereas *4Q256* (*4QS<sup>b</sup>*) IX,3 and *4Q258* (*4QS<sup>d</sup>*) I, 2 have “according to the Many.” However, the essential definition of the tasks and roles assigned to the *mitnadevim* is identical in both versions.

(23) Cf. e.g. B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 44-46; G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (*JSOT Supp* 1; Sheffield: Academic Press, 1985), 178-193; D. Dimant, “4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple,” in A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel, J. Riaud (eds.), *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (Leuven — Paris: Peeters, 1986), 165-190. See also the discussions cited in n. 31 below.

stone that God will establish in Zion, “a tested stone,” which will form a cornerstone and a foundation. The peshet of the *Rule* identifies this foundation with the community and makes it part of the holy dwelling of Aharon. (24) The construction terminology used by this passage of the *Rule* (IQS VIII, 4-10) is a matter for a separate study. For the present purpose suffice it to stress the figurative use made of such terminology to describe the community as a holy house, namely a temple. (25) Pertinent to our discussion is the statement that the activity conducted in the house-temple created by the community is “to atone for the land” (IQS VIII, 10). It thus becomes clear that in defining the goal of the volunteers in IQS V, 5 the expression “to establish a truthful foundation for Israel” (ליסד מוסד אמת לישראל) alludes to the same peshet on *Isaiah* 28:16, and incorporates the same purpose of “atoning for the land.” We may therefore understand the definition of the volunteers’ goal in light of the sacral existence of the community according to the *Rule*, as described in IQS column eight.

Terminological links connect the definition of IQS VIII, 7-8 just examined with another passage from the *Rule*, IQS IX, 3-6. Column IX spells out more clearly the role of the members of the community, namely the volunteers, within an organization functioning as a temple. (26) The passage reads:

בהיות אלה בישראל ככול התכונים האלה ליסוד רוח קודש לאמת עולם  
לכפר על אשמת פשע ומעל חטאת לרצון לארץ מבשר עולות ומחלבי זבח  
ותרומת שפתים למשפט כניחוה צדק ותמים דרך כנדבת מנחת רצון. בעת  
ההיא יבדילו אנשי היחד בית קודש לאהרון להיחד קודש קודשים ובית יחד  
לישראל ההולכים בתמים

When these (things) will come to be in Israel, according to all these regulations, to be a foundation of holy spirit for eternal truth, so as to atone for the iniquitous guilt and for the sinful unfaithfulness, and (these will) find (God’s) favour for the land better than flesh of burnt-offering and fat of sacrifices. And the offering of lips for judgement (is as) a righteous sweetness, and the perfect way (is) as a favourable freewill offering. At that time the men of the Yahad shall establish separately a house of holiness to Aharon to be united in holy of holies, and a house of Yahad for (those of) Israel who walk perfectly. (IQS IX, 3-6 (27))

(24) IQS VIII, 7-8 borrows from *Isaiah* 28:16 the entire image of the cornerstone. The reference to the prophecy is indicated by the incorporation of the prophet’s words ליסד מוסד into the of the *Rule*’s discourse. The *Rule* combines the separate biblical words יסד and מוסד into one locution. The expression ובל יחישו of the *Rule* takes up the words לא יחיש from the *Isaiah* verse.

(25) Cf. O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1960), 158-169; Licht, *The Rule* (n. 13 above), 171-172, 175, 180; A.R.C. Leane, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (London: SCM, 1966), 215-217.

(26) Cf. Licht’s comparison and discussion of the similar passages from IQS VI, 8, VIII, 10 and IX, 4-5, in *ibid.*, 172-174.

(27) The translation, with some alterations, is that of J.H. Charlesworth, “The

The image of house and holy of holies shows up here in greater detail. One way by which this description becomes more elaborate is the addition of the sacrificial imagery. Not only is the community compared to a temple: its members' activities are likened to sacrifices of flesh and blood. The "offering of lips for judgement, "perhaps study and prayer, equals a pleasing sacrifice; (28) "a perfect way," namely the practice of the Torah laws and sectarian rulings, equals a pleasing free-will offering.

Much has been written about these themes (29) but less attention has been paid to the manner in which the three descriptions of the *Rule* in *IQS* columns V, VIII and IX are interlinked to form a coherent picture of the volunteers' functions within the sacral reality. I will illustrate this linkage with three elements. (30)

- a. The three sections allude to the same pesher on *Isaiah* 28:16, which interpret the prophecy as referring to the community being the cornerstone of the house-temple. In *IQS* V, 5 the pesher is intimated by the expression "to lay foundation," and in *IQS* IX, 9 it is by the word יסוד, "foundation." A citation of *Isa* 28:16 itself appears in *IQS* VIII, 7-8.
- b. The expression לכול המתנדבים ("to atone for all the volunteers") of *IQS* V, 6 is echoed by לכפר בעד הארץ ("to atone for the land") of *IQS* VIII, 10. A similar formulation comes in *IQS* IX, 4: לכפר על אשמת פשע ומעל חטאת ("so as to atone for the iniquitous guilt and for the sinful unfaithfulness").
- c. A third connecting link of the three passages is the locution בית בישראל ("the truthful house in Israel") in *IQS* V, 6. It parallels the expression בית תמים ואמת בישראל ("a perfect and truthful house in Israel") in *IQS* VIII, 9, and that in *IQS* IX, 6 בית יחד לישראל ("a house of the community for Israel").

These links, together with others, establish that the three passages share the same notions and use the same figurative sacral terminology for the communal way of life. We may therefore apply to the volunteers of column V all the details found in the two other sections.

Rule of the Community," in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Rule of the Community and Related Documents, The Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1994), 39. Throughout the present article I was also aided by the translations of F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 1997).

(28) For identifying this expression with prayer see J.M. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarials of the Dead Sea (Qumran) Scrolls," *Studies in Qumran Law (Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity* 24; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1977), 47.

(29) Cf. Baumgarten, *ibid.*, 46-51 and the publications cited in nn. 23, 31.

(30) Compare also the use of אמת in *IQS* V, 6, VIII, 9, IX, 3 and רצון in *IQS* VIII, 10 and IX, 4-5.

Connected thus, the most revealing phrase which emerges from *IQS* IX,3-6 is the one stating that atonement is achieved through the sectarian existence, for judicious words and a perfect way of life are preferable to God than real sacrifices and free-will offerings of flesh. (31)

The process of replacement does not mean that the real sacrifices, according to the sectaries, should be abolished, as Jean Carmignac pointed out fifty years ago. (32) In fact, the community's sacral structure, and its sacral terminology, show the sectarians' deep respect for the cult.

The precise transformation which took place in converting the biblical cultic terminology to the sectarian sphere is illustrated by the central statement of *IQS* IX, comparing judicious words and perfect life to sacrifices and offering.

A key term in *IQS* IX,5, נִדְבָה, immediately connects the statement to the Levitical cultic terminology on the one hand and to the מִתְנַדְבִּים of Qumran on the other hand. Especially striking is the verbal similarity of the Qumran wording to *Leviticus* 22:21, a verse enjoining that only unblemished animals be brought as free-will offerings:

ואיש כי יקריב זבח שלמים לה' לפלא נדר או לנדבה בבקר או בצאן תמים  
יהיה לרצון כל מום לא יהיה בו

And whenever any person presents, from the herd or the flock, a well-being offering to the Lord for an expressed vow or as a free-will offering (it must be) perfect in order to be acceptable; it shall

(31) Cf. e.g. G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 93-106; P. Garnet, *Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls* (WUNT 3; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1977), 67-70. Klinzing, *ibid.*, 94-96 discusses also *1IQPs* XVIII, 9-12: וְאָדָם מִפְּאָר עֲלִיּוֹן יִרְצֶה כְּמִגִּישׁ מִנְחָה כְּמִקְרִיב עֲתוּדִים וּבְנֵי בָקָר כְּמִדֶּשֶׁן מִזְבֵּחַ בְּרֹב עוֹלוֹת קִטְרוֹרֶת נִחֶה מִיַּד צַדִּיקִים ("The person who gives glory to the Most High is accepted like one who brings an offering, like one who offers rams and calf, like one who makes the altar greasy with many holocausts, like the sweet fragrance from the hand of righteous ones"). Yet in spite of the similar notion expressed by these lines this apocryphal psalm lacks the sacral context of the sectarian expositions. It seems that the idea of righteous prayers as preferable to sacrifices was a widespread notion, inspired by biblical passages such as *Isa* 1:11-17; *Amos* 5:22-25, which the sectaries adapted to their own way of thinking.

(32) Cf. J. Carmignac, "L'Utilité ou l'inutilité des sacrifices sanglants dans la "Règle de la Communauté" de Qumrân," *RB* 63 (1956): 524-532, esp. 526. The sacral structure of the community and its sacrificial terminology attest to the deep respect the Qumranites bore for the cult. So in principle they did not "replace" the cultic prescriptions by their communal prayers and life. However, in practice they considered the Temple of their time unfit to perform its basic function of atonement and saw their own life as more fitting for performing it. Thus, the arguments recently put forward by Paul Heger do not represent this attitude with precision. Cf. idem, "Did Prayer Replace Sacrifice at Qumran?" *RevQ* 22 (2005): 213-233.

(33) The translation is that of J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 17-22* (Anchor Bible 3A; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 1845.



not have any blemish. (33)

Commenting on this verse Jacob Milgrom notes the importance of the unblemished condition for everything that is connected with the Temple. The priests as well as the sacrificed animals must be perfect and unblemished, for wholeness and perfection are the mark of the sacred sphere. He also notes that the biblical instructions for unblemished sacrificial animals are parallel to the requirement for officiating priests not to be physically deformed (*Lev* 21:16-24). (34) The Qumranites too were careful not to include maimed or deformed persons in their holy and eschatological gatherings. (35) But the exclusion of deformed persons acquires its full significance in light of the most striking similarity between the *Leviticus* verse and the statement of 1QS IX,5:

*Lev* 22:21 ואיש כי יקריב זבח שלמים לה' לפלא נדר או לנדבה בבקר או בצאן  
תמים יהיה לרצון

1QS IX, 5 כנדבת מנחת רצון ותמים דרך

The sectarian phrase כנדבת מנחת רצון contains the three major elements of the biblical statement: תמים, נדבה, רצון ("perfection, free-will, acceptance"). The comparison shows that the perfect, unblemished quality required of sacrificial animals is transformed into the particular piety of the Qumran sectaries (תמים דרך). In turn, this piety is equated with a free-will offering. The perfect offering, given free-willingly, is the unblemished, perfect pietistic way of life itself. Just as the perfect free-will offering is the only one acceptable to God — לרצון, so is perfect sectarian piety acceptable to God, and able to perform the original function of sacrifices and offerings, namely "to atone for the land." Significantly, the volunteers for the eschatological battle (36) also should be "perfect in spirit and in body" (*IQM* VII, 5), connecting again the notion of a voluntary offering with the idea of its perfect, unblemished character. In the *War Rule* perfection of both body and spirit is prescribed as a requirement of all volunteers for the war. Once more it illustrates the connection between the biblical cultic terminology and its sectarian figurative understanding.

(34) See Milgrom, *ibid.*, 1873. Commentators had difficulty in explaining another verse in the same chapter (*Lev* 22:23), which states that for free-will offerings certain blemished animals are indeed permitted. Cf. B.A. Levine, *Leviticus (The JPS Torah Commentary)*; Philadelphia-New York-Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 151-152; Milgrom, *ibid.*, 1875.

(35) Cf. L.H. Schiffman, "Purity and Perfection: Exclusion from the Council of the Community in the *Serekh Ha-'Edah*," in *Biblical Archaeology Today* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), 373-389 (esp. 377-381).

(36) Literally אנשי נדבת מלחמה ("men of freewill offering for the war").

The importance of the notions of spiritual purity and wholeness also shed light on the bodily purity and perfection self-imposed by the Qumranites. Required to meet such qualifications were the participants in the eschatological council of the community (*IQSa* II, 4-7), the warriors in the eschatological battle (*IQM* VII,4-5 (37)), and the worshippers entering the temple city (*11QT<sup>a</sup>* 45:12-14). As has been pointed out, the exclusion of deformed persons from the holy gatherings and from the Temple city is based on the biblical interdiction against deformed priests officiating (*Lev* 21:17-23). (38) But the sacrificial imagery embedded in the self-understanding of the sectaries suggests that the prohibition on blemished offerings is also part of the sectarian self-image. Indeed, the notion of wholeness and blamelessness is central to the sectaries' self-understanding, reflected in their recurrent term *תמים דרך* ("perfect way" or "a way of perfection"). (39) The spiritual as well as the bodily purity and perfection demanded of members of the Qumran community approximated the requirements imposed on both officiating priests and unblemished free-will sacrifices.

The transition effected in the sectarian writings from the concrete cultic sphere to figurative cultic terms is typical of the community's thinking. At times it approaches the exegetical procedures employed by the Qumran pesharim for interpreting biblical prophecies. One may well ask whether this is not a kind of peshar on the Levitical instruction.

That detailed pesharim may underlie the *Rule*'s statement is perhaps suggested by the locution *מנחת רצון* ("an acceptable free-will offering"). In the *Rule* (*IQS* IX, 5) it is identified with perfect behaviour, while in the *Damascus Document* XI, 20-21 it is equated to the prayer of the righteous *זבח רשעים תועבה ותפלת צדקם כמנחת רצון* ("the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the righteous is like an agreeable offering"). (40) The *Damascus Document* adduces this line as a scriptural quotation, prefaced by the standard introductory formula *כי כתוב* ("for it is written"). The phrase is

(37) See the remarks of J. Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1958), 105; Y. Yadin, *The Scrolls of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: University Press, 1962), 290-291.

(38) On the purity required of the participants in these occasions see J.M. Baumgarten, "The Exclusion of 'Netinim' and Proselytes in 4Q Florilegium," in *Studies in Qumran Law* (n. 28 above), 75-87; Schiffman, "Purity and Perfection," (n. 35 above), 375-377.

(39) Among others, the locution appears in a variety of forms in the four major sectarian writings: the *Damascus Document* (CD I, 21), the *Rule of the Community* (e.g. I, 8), the *War Rule* (*IQM* XIV, 7), and the *Hodayoth* (*IQH<sup>a</sup>* IX, 36).

(40) The connection between *IQS* IX, 3-4 and CD XI, 20-21 was already noted by C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1958<sup>2</sup>), 58, and É. Cothenet, "Le Document de Damas," in J. Carmignac, É. Cothenet & H. Lignée (eds.), *Les Textes de Qumran* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1963), vol.2, 195.

indeed a quotation of *Proverbs* 15:8, with slight but significant changes. The biblical ותפלת ישרים רצונו ("and the prayer of the upright is acceptable to Him") is transformed into ותפלת צדקם כמנחת ("and the prayer of the righteous is like an agreeable offering"). The replacement of the locution תפלת ישרים ("the prayer of the upright") by the similar תפילת צדיקים ("the prayer of the righteous") does not alter the meaning. (41) However, the substitution of the biblical רצונו ("acceptable to Him") by the locution מנחת רצון ("agreeable offer"), a non-biblical expression, refers the reader to a specific sectarian context and the idea of replacing sacrifices by the prayers of the righteous. (42) This formulation is patently similar to the affirmation of *IQS* IX, 6 stating that offerings of the lips are like a pleasing sacrifice of the righteous. So the *Rule* and the *Damascus Document* may allude to the same exegetical complex, involving interpretation of more than one verse.

The formulations examined above paint a very clear picture: the volunteers' pietistic perfect life in the community is comparable to an acceptable free-will offering in a temple-like organization. They thus perform the correct and effective atonement for the land.

This view of the sectarian life explains the importance of and the insistence on the free-will aspect of the sectaries, and in fact accounts for the choice of the term *mitnadevim* as the designation of the covenanters. For just as the *Chronicler* and *Ezra* described by *hithpa'el* constructions the bringing of free-will contributions to the temple by all Israel, so the author of the *Rule of the Community* employs the same construction to describe the voluntary sacrifice of their own lives, brought by the members of the community to their temple-like congregation.

Befittingly, the *Rule of the Community* concludes its instructions to the Maškil with the directive that "all that happens to him he should welcome free-willingly and he should desire nothing that God has not willed..." וכול הנעשה בו ירצה בנדבה וזולת רצון אל לו יהפץ (*IQS* IX, 24). (43) The free-will attitude, in fact, amounts to accepting willingly whatever happens in one's life, for everything happens by God's will. The absolute voluntary submission to God's will, as represented by practising the Torah commandments in the framework of the communal life, constitutes the true voluntary sacrifice of the *mitnadevim* to the Qumran community.

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(41) Rabin, previous note, suggests a conflation with *Prov* 15:29 תפילת צדיקים. However, the use of the word צדיקים in a similar context in *11QPs<sup>a</sup>* XVIII, 12 (quoted in n. 31 above) suggests that this term was current in later poetic Hebrew.

(42) *Proverbs* 11:20 ורצונו תמימי דרך ("and those of perfect way are acceptable to Him") is also echoed here. The locution דרך תמימי is present often in the sectarian literature. See e.g. *IQSa* I, 28; *IQM* XIV, 7; *IQH<sup>a</sup>* IX, 36; *4Q510* I 9; *4Q405* 13 6.

(43) Cf. Licht's discussion, *The Rule* (n. 13 above), 199.

# THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE TWO SPIRITS TREATISE REVISITED\*

## *Summary*

The article provides new avenues for interpreting the *Two Spirits Treatise* and its eschatology on the basis of new manuscript evidence. The shorter form of the Two Ways section in *IQ29* 13, *4Q257* V and *4Q525* 11-12 indicates that the eschatological rewards in *IQS* IV 7-8 were included in a yet flexible form of the text as it became part of *IQS*. *4QD* fragments yield new connections with dualism in the Two Spirits doctrine. *4Q444* shares with the *Treatise* the anthropological orientation on an inner dispute of spirits (*IQS* IV 23b-26) as well as the eschatological expectation that the dominion of wickedness will be completed (*IQS* IV 19-20). *4Q215a* elaborates an eschatological perspective on a time of righteousness with dualistic and predestinarian parameters very comparable to those of the *Treatise*. This article concludes that the *Treatise*'s eschatologically oriented worldview has a broader traditio-historical setting than previously assumed.

## 1. Introduction

THIS article reconsiders the eschatology of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* in the *Serekh ha-Yahad* columns III 13 to IV 26, in view of questions how this eschatological perspective is embedded in the *Two Spirits Treatise* and whether and how this perspective may relate to other Qumran texts. Before the 1990s, literary study of the *Two Spirits Treatise* as well as the *Serekh ha-Yahad* at large had to take place in relative isolation. (1) Since the 1990s, hypotheses about literary development of the *Serekh ha-Yahad* have

(\*) This is a slightly elaborated version of a paper read at the VIth Congress of the International Organization for Qumran Studies in Ljubljana on the 16<sup>th</sup> of July 2007.

(1) Cf. the prospective conclusion by H. Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand und Grundgedanken von *IQS* III,13-IV,26," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 95-131 at 129-30 that further evaluation of the religio-historical setting of and background to the *Two Spirits Treatise* would have to await the study of published finds from Qumran cave 4.

been developed on the basis of comparison between *IQS* and *4QS* recensions, and possible interrelations have been explored between the *Serekh ha-Yahad* and the *Damascus Document*. *4QS<sup>c</sup>* includes some fragments, 3a I and 3b (column V), which overlap with *IQS* IV 4-10 and 13-14. In an article of 2004, E.J.C. Tigchelaar added analysis of “new manuscript evidence for the *Two Spirits Treatise*” from Qumran cave 4 as well as a re-edition of fragments 13-17 of *IQ29* as overlapping evidence with *IQS* IV 7 and 9. (2) While there is an expanded textual base for literary study of the *Two Spirits Treatise*, much work also remains to be done in situating the Treatise’s eschatology and its parameters in relation to other Qumran texts and in probing the Treatise’s arguably pre-Qumran setting. It is to this subject that my article aims to make a contribution.

## 2. Eschatology and the Literary Structure of the *Two Spirits Treatise*

Before turning to comparison of *IQS* III 13 — IV 26 with cave 4 recensions and with non-*Serekh ha-Yahad* manuscripts, some observations need to be made about the place which eschatology has within the literary structure of the *Two Spirits Treatise* in *IQS*. The manuscript of *IQS* comprises several indications about how the scribe structured the text. Indented lines at line 13 of column III and lines 2, 9 and 15 of column IV suggest a distinction between sections III 13 — IV 1, IV 2-8, IV 9-14 and IV 15-26. Recent analysis by J. Duhaime has demonstrated the structural coherence of the present composition with its tripartite division of sections about “God, man, and spirits” (III 13-IV 1), “the ways and their visitations” (IV 2-14), and about “temporary division and purification of the elect” (IV 15-26). Further subdivision indicates literary parallelism between, among other sections, IV 2-8, about the path of true righteousness, and IV 9-14, about the path of deceit. (3)

Apart from occasional references to the “moment of visitation,” מועד פקודתו, for human beings (III 18) and a dominion of the Angel of Darkness “until his moment,” עד קצו (III 23), it is in the second and third sections that we find more substantiated eschatological thought. In IV 6-7, 11-14 the visitations of the ways include a vision

(2) Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, “‘These are the names of the spirits of...’ A Preliminary Edition of *4QCatalogue of Spirits* (4Q230) and New Manuscript Evidence for the *Two Spirits Treatise* (4Q257 and *IQ29a*),” *RevQ* 21/84 (2004) 529-47.

(3) J. Duhaime, “Cohérence structurelle et tensions internes dans l’Instruction sur les Deux Esprits,” in F. García Martínez (ed.), *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (BETL 168; Leuven: University Press — Peeters, 2003) 103-131 at 126-31 with a synoptic table. On *IQS* IV 2-8 and 9-14, see also *idem*, “Les voies des deux esprits (*IQS* iv 2-14). Une analyse structurelle,” *RevQ* 19 (2000) 349-67.

of eternity, while in IV 15-26 an end to all injustice is envisaged. Many of the terms which denote the final age are concentrated in IV 15-26: קץ אחרון (IV 16-17); קץ להיות עולה (IV 18); מועד פקודה (IV 18-19; cf. IV 26); מועד משפט נחרצה (IV 20); and קץ נחרצה ועשות חדשה (IV 25). Some of them, like מועד פקודה and קץ, also occur in *IQS* III 18 and 23, and in fact the notion of eschatological visitation, פקודה, runs through all three sections of the Treatise (III 18; IV 6, 11; IV 18-19, 26).

Notwithstanding the structural coherence of the *Two Spirits Treatise* as endtext, (4) tensions within and between sections have also been discerned by Duhaime and other scholars before him, leading them to divergent hypotheses about the Treatise's composition history. Observed differences in vocabulary and style gave earlier scholarship reason to distinguish IV 15-26 from III 13-IV 14. (5) The anthropological interpretation of a conflict between truth and justice "in the heart of man" in IV 23b-26 has further been distinguished as "later addition" from the broader view about good and evil in the world (תבל, IV 19), in IV 15-23a. (6) More recent hypotheses have concentrated on the part in the first section which comprises terms of cosmic dualism, namely the dominions of the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness. According to Duhaime, this cosmic dualism in III 18b-25a should be distinguished as secondary addition to ethical dualism in the other parts of the Treatise. C. Hempel expands the secondary addition to III 17b-26a, thereby including all "light and darkness language" which is thereby "clearly confined to this limited portion" of the Treatise. (7)

(4) Cf. J. Licht, "An Analysis of the Treatise on the Two Spirits in DSD," *SchrHier* 4 (1958) 88-100 at 100 whose literary analysis pointed out that the "scheme of argument" in the Treatise is structured by predestination (III 15-17; IV 25-26) and dualism (III 17-IV 1 (IV 2-14) IV 15-25), while arguing that the author "has reserved eschatology for his last paragraph" (97), in IV 18-23.

(5) P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial. Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969) 17-27 and 170.

(6) J. Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969) 528-49 at 541-44, who lists nine words of repeated occurrence in III 13-IV 14 which do not recur in IV 15-26 and ten words of repeated usage in IV 15-26 which have not occurred before in III 13-IV 14, understands *IQS* IV 23b-26 as an anthropological reinterpretation of *IQS* 15-18a. However, Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 131 has argued against the alleged secondary character of IV 23-26 in view of a thematic connection (predestination) between III 15-16 and IV 25-26 and literary points of correspondence, such as between IV 16-17 and IV 25.

(7) J. Duhaime, "L'instruction sur les deux esprits et les interpolations dualistes à Qumrân (*IQS* III,13-IV,26)," *RB* 84 (1977) 566-94; *Idem*, "Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran," *CBQ* 49 (1987) 32-56 at 40-43; C. Hempel, "The Community and Its Rivals According to the *Community Rule* from Caves 1 and 4," *RevQ* 21 (2003) 47-81 at 77-81 identifies "mixed terminology" in the Treatise, "employing truth and injustice language alongside an opposition of light and darkness" (78).

An underlying concern here is the perceived problematic relationship between cosmic dualism and ethical dualism in the *Two Spirits Treatise*. While the lines of literary distinction of passages may not always be drawn as sharply as previously supposed, (8) it is important for our understanding of the Treatise's dualistic and eschatological outlook to evaluate which part cosmological and anthropological accents respectively have in the Treatise. The eschatology is not detached from the other parameters in the text, dualism and predestination. It is clear from the passage about the visitations of the Two Ways that there is a sliding scale from this-worldly to eschatological categories (III 6-7, 11-14). Comparison with other recensions and texts will give further ground for literary-critical analysis and illuminate the degree of interrelatedness of the Treatise's theological outlook with other strands of thought.

### 3. Comparison with Cave 4 Recensions and Non-Serekh Texts

#### 3.1. *The Textual Shape and Literary History of the Treatise*

Since the 1990s the broader availability and official publication of *4QS* manuscript fragments (9) gave occasion to discussion about different recensions of the *Serekh ha-Yahad* and its composition history. Much attention has been paid to other parts of the text, such as *IQS* V 1-3a vis-à-vis *4QS<sup>b</sup>* IX 1-3a and *4QS<sup>d</sup>* I 1-3a. The earlier argument from literary study that columns I-IV serve as added preface to a pre-existing rule text from columns V onwards (10) may now be underpinned by the evidence of *4QS<sup>d and e</sup>* which lack columns I-IV. (11) Nevertheless, the palaeographically oldest recensions from cave 4, *4QpapS<sup>a and c</sup>*, as well as the much younger recension of *4QS<sup>b</sup>* do include fragments parallel to *IQS* I-IV. (12) An earlier suggestion that the stage in which columns I-IV were added should be dated be-

(8) For instance, as regards the view of *IQS* IV 23b-26 as reinterpretation of IV 15-18a, an intermediate passage, *IQS* IV 20b-22, provides a rather mixed case with anthropological language on the one hand and a cosmological point of reference (בני שמים) on the other. Further, "light and darkness language" does also occur in IV 8 (אור עולמים) and IV 13 (היות חושך and מחשכים), albeit in teleological terms of domains where those following the two ways will belong rather than as forces whose conflict keeps the world divided.

(9) P.S. Alexander and G. Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4. XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

(10) Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire," 543.

(11) S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 107, 140.

(12) P.S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996) 437-56, insists that both palaeographical considerations and synoptic comparison should be taken into account.

fore 100-75 BCE, the palaeographic date of *IQS*, (13) should now be revised in view of the earlier date of *4QpapS<sup>a</sup>* between 125-100 BCE.

The part of the *Two Spirits Treatise* in this literary and textual reconsideration of the *Serekh* has to be determined by comparison with an extended textual base for column V of *4QpapS<sup>c</sup>* (plus *4Q502* 16 and *4Q487* frgs. 24 and 37), fragments 13-17 of *IQ29*, and a loose parallel in *4Q525* 11-12, as Tigchelaar has recently argued. These three pieces of text parallel *IQS* IV 4-14; IV 7 and 9; and IV 7 and 8 respectively, but according to Tigchelaar they all three constitute a shorter and alternative version of the *Two Spirits Treatise*. With regard to comparison with *4QpapS<sup>c</sup>*, material in *IQS* IV 9 has been qualified as a plus. (14) Some of the eschatological rewards described in *IQS* IV 7-8 are absent from parallel evidence of both fragment 13 of *IQ29* and fragments 11-12 of *4Q525*, as edited by Tigchelaar. Both pieces of text record the words כּוֹל בְּרָכוֹת עַד, “all everlasting blessings,” which also occur in the middle of line 7 of *IQS* IV. Fragment 13 of *IQ29* then turns to a list corresponding to *IQS* IV 9 and fragments 11-12 of *4Q525* turn to a reward also mentioned at the beginning of *IQS* IV 8. Both pieces of text therefore omit an item such as “eternal joy in endless life,” וְשִׂמְחַת עוֹלָמִים בְּחַיֵּי נֵצַח, recorded in *IQS* IV 7.

The textual evidence taken together (15) probably indicates that the form of the Treatise may have been in a yet flexible state at the time when the extended version in *IQS* was copied. The eschatological rewards are part of *IQS* IV 7-8 and *4QpapS<sup>c</sup>* V 4-6, which have both been palaeographically dated between 100-75 BCE. Yet their absence from other parallel textual evidence (*IQ29* 13 and *4Q525* 11-12) could suggest that their formulation was part of a literary expansion on a yet flexible textual form of the Treatise.

### 3.2. The Treatise and Its Pre-Qumran Origin

A second area of textual reconsideration concerns the question of the Treatise’s original setting, before it became prefixed to the rule text in *IQS* V-IX as part of introductory sections in *IQS* I-IV. The *Two Spirits Treatise*, which is introduced as teaching by the Instruc-

(13) Murphy-O’Connor, “La genèse littéraire,” 548.

(14) Tigchelaar, “These are the names of the spirits of...,” 529-47 argues that the shorter form of *4Q257* V 1-8 + *olim 4Q502* 16 + *4Q487* 37 lacked the pluses of “two summarizing statements,” רָחוּב נֶפֶשׁ וְשָׂפוֹל יָדִים בְּעִבְרוֹת צָדִיק, in *IQS* IV 9. He further observes that the remains of a “Two Ways section” in *IQ29a* and a “loose parallel” in *4Q525* 11-12 1-4 “indicate a shorter and alternative version” (546).

(15) Cf. *4QpapS<sup>a</sup>* frg. A with parallel vocabulary (לְהַשְׁכִּיל, אֹר, רוּחוֹת בְּנֵי אִישׁ, חוֹשֶׁךְ) to the *Two Spirits Treatise*, noted by Tigchelaar, “These are the names of the spirits of...,” 538 and n. 22 with further bibliography.



tor to all the sons of light (*IQS* III 13), (16) does not comprise any sectarian community terminology as it occurs in other parts of the *Serekh ha-Yahad*, including a section which also addresses the Instructor (*IQS* IX 12-19 at 14 and 19). The *Two Spirits Treatise* is often considered to have originated as an independent pre-sectarian, that is, pre-Qumran text. (17) The evidence of different recensions may yield further specifications, indicating that the literary growth to its *IQS* form took place when it became integrated as an adopted text drawing on earlier blocks of tradition.

The pre-Qumran sectarian setting of the *Two Spirits Treatise* has been compared with some strands of the *Damascus Document*, in particular *CD-A* II 2-13, even though scholarly opinions differ on which conclusions to draw from this comparison. (18) More recently, comparisons have further been made with *4QInstruction*, *4Q177*, *4Q280*, *4Q286*, a recently edited Qumran *Catalogue of Spirits* (*4Q230*) and the pseudepigraphical *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. (19) In light of the cave 4 fragments of the *Damascus Document*, I think more is to be said about the relation of the *Treatise* to the pre-Qumran affiliations of the *Damascus Document* which are generally associated with a broader parent movement.

(16) Metso, *Textual Development*, has argued that the reference to the מַשְׂכִּיל was added once the *Treatise* as part of columns I-IV became prefixed to *IQS* V-IX, supposing that "the doctrine did not originally belong to the group of texts addressed to the *maskil*, which rather consisted of rules" (139). However, the מַשְׂכִּיל also figures in the *Hodayot* (*IQH<sup>a</sup>* V 1; XX 4, 11; XXV bottom 10), the admonitive text *4Q298* (*4QcryptA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn*), *4QInstruction* (e.g. *4Q418* 81 17), and *4Q510-511* (*4QSongs of the Sage<sup>a-b</sup>*).

(17) Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 127-8; Metso, *Textual Development*, 137-8: "The text may very well have its beginnings outside Qumran"; John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to Jewish Apocalyptic Literature* (The Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. edn 1998) 154-55 proposes to read the *Treatise* as "culmination of a development" had been completed "by the early first century BCE" (155); Tigchelaar, "These are the names of the spirits of...", 537 and 546 n. 56 "most scholars agree that the *Two Spirits Treatise* is pre-sectarian."

(18) P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983) 72-73 notes parallels between the "strongly predestinarian tone" of *CD-A* II 2-13 and the vocabulary and theology of *IQS* III 13-IV 26, but also stresses differences; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 242-3 ("Zitate und Anspielungen"); Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 155 emphasises the absence of explicit references to Belial or the Angel of Darkness from *CD-A* II 2-13; Tigchelaar, "These are the names of the spirits of...", 538 mentions "a loose quotation (of the *Two Spirits Treatise*) in *CD* II 6-7."

(19) Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 128-9; John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls; London and New York: Routledge, 1997) 40-41; Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 154; Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones. Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (STDJ 44; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 194-207; Tigchelaar, "These are the names of the spirits of...", 537-38.

First, the setting of teaching by the Instructor, the מַשְׁכִּיל, to the “sons of light” in *IQS* III 13 may be comparable to that of *4QD<sup>a</sup>* fragment 1a-b line 1 as reconstructed by J.M. Baumgarten: פָּרוּשׁ [The elaboration of the laws by the Sage for the sons of light to keep apart from the way[s of wickedness].” (20) Line 2 of this fragment voices an expectation of the “completion of the appointed time of visitation,” עַד תּוֹם; eschatological language comparable to that of *IQS* IV 18-20.

Second, it is sometimes supposed that the *Damascus Document* lacks dualism. (21) Nevertheless, this text does contrast the sphere of influence of the “Prince of Lights,” שֶׁר הָאוֹרִים, to that of Belial (*CD-A* V 17-18 // *4QD<sup>a</sup>* 3 II 5-6; cf. *IQS* III 20!). The legal section of the *Damascus Document* includes a ruling about “every man over whom spirits of Belial rule” (כָּל אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִמְשְׁלוּ בוֹ רוּחוֹת בְּלִיעַל, *CD-A* XII 2-3 // *4QD<sup>f</sup>* 5 I 18). Further evidence about dualism can be added from the cave 4 recensions. The prologue to the *Damascus Document*, preserved in fragment 1a-b of *4QD<sup>a</sup>*, voices a contrast between the “sons of light” (l. 1) and “those who move the boundary” (l. 4). Fragment 11, lines 12-14 of the same manuscript contrasts an ingroup within certain boundaries to those who cross them who are cursed. Finally, the eschatological perspective in *IQS* IV 6-8 and 12 that the paths of justice and injustice ultimately lead to life in eternal light and to the eternal pit respectively may be paralleled in fragments of the *Damascus Document* from caves 4 and 6. *4QD<sup>e</sup>* 2 II 20 contrasts “paths of life,” דְּרָכֵי חַיִּים, for an addressed group of “you who know justice” (*4QD<sup>e</sup>* 2 II 19 // *6QD* 5) to ways to the pit, נְתִיבוֹת שָׁחַת, destined for transgressors.

These considerations may give reason to suspect that the dualism in the Treatise as well as its setting of teaching by the Instructor may have more in common with or borrow from pre-Qumran tradition as reflected in the *Damascus Document* than previously assumed. Yet there are other texts from Qumran cave 4 with comparative materials to whose evidence I now turn.

### 3.3. The Treatise's Theological Terms and Eschatology

I will first go into some examples of terminology in the *Two Spirits Treatise* as compared to other Qumran texts which are struc-

(20) Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. XIII. The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 31-32 defends this reconstruction by arguments of literary convention to specify the nature of the work, the title of the teacher and the intended audience in an incipit, while referring to the comparative evidence of *4QS<sup>d</sup>* I 1 and *CD-A* XII 20, XIII 22.

(21) Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 154-5.

turally important for the Treatise's theology and then turn to comparative evidence for its eschatological outlook.

### 3.3.1. Theological Terminology

Two examples of terminology which I will treat here, are תולדות and רוח. The first term is mentioned at the beginning of the Treatise (III 13), carries a predestinarian and dualistic overtone in III 19 and recurs in IV 15, at the beginning of the more eschatologically oriented section of the Treatise. The second term, רוח, pervades the Treatise's theology and has given occasion to considerable discussion to which extent the term reflects human or anthropological dispositions and to which extent it stands for superhuman, cosmic spirits. (22)

#### תולדות

To begin with the term תולדות, it has been variously translated as "nature" or "history" in III 13 and IV 15, but as "generations" in III 19. (23) Yet, as an early article by Jacob Licht observed, the term should be distinguished from the secondary point of interest of "generations," דורות, in IQS III 14. (24) The translation "history" may further be problematic in view of the term's occurrence in IV 15, at the beginning of a section which opens up a perspective of time on past, present and future up to the final age (IV 18-19, 20, 25). Tigchelaar has recently proposed a translation as "nature, characteristics" with reference to the mentioning of תולדות אדם in 4Q418 77 3. (25) This fragment also mentions the רז נהיה, "the mystery to come." It may therefore be supposed that תולדות denotes a revealed, predestinarian sense of nature, either in anthropological terms, as in IQS III 13 and IV 15, or in cosmic terms of light and darkness, as in IQS III 19. (26)

(22) See e.g. P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (IQSerek III,13 — IV,26)," *RevQ* 3 (1961) 413-41 at 418 and 441 who argued for the psychological interpretation of the "spirits"; H.G. May, "Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery," *JBL* 82 (1963) 1-14; A.E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran* (SBLDS, 110; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 193-219 (chapter VIII "The Meaning of Ruah in IQS 3:13-4:26"); J. Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on Their Background and History," in M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen (eds.), *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997) 275-335 at 290-95; Tigchelaar, "These are the names of the spirits of...", 534.

(23) See e.g. the translations in F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. 1. 1Q1-4Q273* (Leiden: Brill/Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 2000) 75 and 79.

(24) Licht, "An Analysis of the Treatise," 88-100 at 89-90 and n. 5.

(25) Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 196.

רוח

The second term, רוח, which I want to highlight can be compared with a text from Qumran cave 4, which to my knowledge has not been drawn into previous comparative discussion. (27) 4Q444, a text given the title *4QIncantation* and officially published by E.G. Chazon among poetical and liturgical texts in 1999, (28) comprises spirits terminology which in several respects can be compared to the *Two Spirits Treatise*. In what follows, I will discuss separate items which are put together in a comparative table in the appendix to this article, in order to illuminate the comparative importance of 4Q444 for the subject of dualism of spirits.

The anthropological language of dualism between spirits in 4Q444 is strikingly similar to some parts of the *Two Spirits Treatise*, which focus on the Two Ways (*IQS* IV 2-14) and on the inner feud of spirits (*IQS* IV 23b-26). Although cosmic dualism in terms of light and darkness appears to be absent from 4Q444, frgs. 1-4 I + 5 (Col. I), line 7 does mention an expected completion of “its dominion,” ממשלתה; probably the dominion of an abstract value opposed to those of truth and justice in the preceding line. A cosmic, superhuman dimension to this cannot be excluded *a priori*. Yet most comparative evidence relates to anthropological language of human dispositions.

• As at the end of the Treatise, which stresses purification of man’s structure, מבני איש (*IQS* IV 20), in face of the feud which exists between the spirits of truth and injustice in the heart of man, עד הנה יריבו רוחי אמת ועול בלבב גבר (*IQS* IV 23b), 4Q444 Col. I line 2 also focuses on “spirits of dispute” within the protagonist’s structure, ויהיו לרוחי ריב במבניתי. It may be inferred from the subsequent lines 3-4 of 4Q444 Col. I that the controversy is between a law-abiding spirit of “knowledge and understanding, truth and justice” which God put in the protagonist’s heart, שם אל כל [בני] (l. 3) and “spirits of wickedness” to be fought off (l. 4). This inner dispute of spirits is

(26) Note that *Mas1k* II 22 // 4Q403 I 1 9 mentions תולדות of angelic beings. On רוח נהיה in 4Q418 77 2 as example of “revelation and determinism,” cf. Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (VTSup 116; Leiden: Brill, 2007) 16.

(27) E. Chazon in *eadem et al.*, *Qumran Cave 4. XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 367-78 and plate XXVI, who officially published 4Q444, mainly compares this text with 4QShir<sup>a-b</sup> (*Songs of the Maskil*), while adding some comparative references to (parts of) *IQS* III 13 — IV 26 (on pages 369-71, 375-7), albeit without extended literary discussion.

(28) Ed.pr. by Chazon, *DJD* 29, 367-78 and plate XXVI. Unless otherwise indicated, I follow the textual reconstruction and numbering of fragments as provided by Chazon. Chazon justifies the title assigned to this text due to its content (curse formulae and named classes of demons in 4Q444 I 5-11) and its perceived function “to be an incantation for warding off evil spirits” (367).

what intimately links this hymnic part of 4Q444 with the closing section of the *Two Spirits Treatise*. (29)

- The inner conflict with a spirit of injustice is seated in the “innermost part of the flesh” according to *IQS* IV 20-21. The very same term, תכמי בשר, occurs in the subsequent line 3 of 4Q444 Col. I, probably still in the setting of the dispute between spirits just mentioned. The expression תכמי בשר further only occurs in a number of fragments of 4Q511 (תכמי בשרי in frgs. 28-29 4, and 48-49+51 II 3-4), but not in conjunction with a worked out dualistic conception of an inner dispute of spirits.

- Line 3 of 4Q444 Col. I specifies that it is a “spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness,” רוח דעת ובינה אמת וצדק, which God established in the protagonist’s heart. These dispositions of spirit are analogous with terms in the Two Ways section, in particular IV 2-4, which specify the dispositions of the “spirit of the sons of truth in the world” (IV 6).

- Line 4 of 4Q444 Col. I urges a second person singular to show oneself determined in God’s precepts and to battle against the spirits of wickedness. Analogously, the Two Ways section includes reference to firm purpose and enthusiasm for the statutes of justice (IV 4-5), while *IQS* IV 15 and 17-18 specify a setting of battle and violent conflict.

- Finally, wickedness and uncleanness, which are mentioned as spirit dispositions in 4Q444 Col. I lines 4 (רוחי רשעה) and 8 (רוח הטמאה), also figure in the part of the Two Ways section which describes the ways of the spirit of deceit (*IQS* IV 9-14).

The Treatise’s anthropological setting for a dualism between spirit dispositions therefore finds an important comparative point of reference in 4Q444, while the general eschatological outlook of an end to every dominion of injustice in *IQS* IV 19-20 seems to be paralleled by the phrase in 4Q444 Col. I 7 which looks forward to “the completion of its dominion,” עד תום ממשלתה. (30) It is to the dualism of spirits that the eschatological perspective provides an answer with the hope that all injustice will vanish.

(29) In other Qumran texts, ריב, usually stands for lawsuit or external dispute, not for an inner human dispute. *Contra* Chazon, *DJD* 29, 375 the view of “spirits of controversy” expressed in the hymnic part of 4Q444 is not just “consonant with the view expressed in *Serekh ha-Yahad*” (*IQS* III 21-3), in addition to the more elaborately discussed comparative passages in the *Songs of the Maskil* (4Q511 48-9 + 51 and 28-9 4-5), but a unique point of correspondence. Neither passage of 4Q511 explicates an inner dispute of spirits; on the contrary, the sequence of text in 4Q511 48-9 + 51 2b-4a suggests that the “foundation” in the protagonist’s innards of flesh is related to the startling and subjugating of spirits of sinners, while it remains unclear where the “controversies of all the spirits of..,” ריבי כול רוחי (48-9 + 51 7-8) should be localised or situated.

(30) Chazon, *DJD* 29, 377 comments that, in view of the possible association of ממשלתה with wickedness (רשעה or רשעה), “the entire phrase would then refer to the apocalyptic idea of the limited duration of the dominion of evil and its culmination in the eschaton.”

### 3.3.2 Eschatological Outlook

The eschatological outlook of the *Two Spirits Treatise*, of which much terminology is concentrated in IV 15-26, stands in an apocalyptic tradition which envisions the final age in terms of judgement and eventual destruction of all evil. Some comparable terminology further occurs in 4Q369, known as *Prayer of Enosh*, of which frg. 1, col. I, 1. 6 mentions an “appointed time of judgement,” קץ משפט נחרצה, analogously with IQS IV 20. A recently re-edited text of Qumran cave 4, known as *Time of Righteousness* (4Q215a), (31) presents an eschatological perspective whose dualistic and predestinarian parameters merit some further comparison with the Treatise. These issues of comparison are also included in the appendix.

Like the Treatise, *Time of Righteousness* also includes the concern to teach, להשכיל, about God’s plan with the world (1 II 6), the notion of divine foreknowledge of human actions in their generations, דורותם (1 II 8-10), and a periodization of time which envisages an end to all injustice, וכול עולה תעבור, שלם קצהרשע וכול (1 II 4). Several terms have been included in a chart by Chazon who compared *Time of Righteousness* with 1 Enoch 1-11, the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, 4QInstruction, and the sectarian *Serekh*, the *Hodayot*, and the *Damascus Document*. (32) One could further add that, even though the Treatise lacks an exact equivalent to בהירי צדק, it does imply election of those of perfect behaviour through the verb בחר in IQS IV 22. Furthermore, the vision of a new creation, עשות חדשה, in IQS IV 25 is paralleled by references to creation and destruction of the earth as well as renewal (לחדש) in *Time of Righteousness* 2 1 and 3 1.

Apart from resemblance in terms, different theological accents should also be noted in the respective eschatological perspectives of the Treatise and *Time of Righteousness*. Whereas the Treatise’s final section describes the state of man divided between the spirits of truth and injustice and looks forward to an end of all injustice, *Time of Righteousness* envisions the situation in which the time of righteousness (באה עת הצדק, 1 II 5), the age of peace (בא קץ השלום, 1 II 6), and the dominion of goodness (בא ממשל {הצדק} הטוב, 1 II 10) have already arrived. Righteousness is therefore associated with praise of God and blessing in *Time of Righteousness*, whereas the Treatise focuses on the division between righteousness and wickedness accord-

(31) Esther G. Chazon, “A Case of Mistaken Identity: Testament of Naphtali (4Q215) and *Time of Righteousness* (4Q215a),” and eadem and Michael E. Stone, “4QTime of Righteousness (4Q215a, olim 4QTNaphtali): A Preliminary Publication of Fragment 1 II,” in D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich (eds.), *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill 1999) 110-23 and 124-25. Ed.pr. by Chazon and Stone in S.J. Pfann, P.S. Alexander et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000) 172-84, pl. VIII.

(32) Chazon, “A Case of Mistaken Identity,” 117-22 at 121-2, and eadem and Stone, DJD 36, 184.

ing to one's inheritance in the truth and share in the lot of injustice (*IQS* IV 24-25) until divine visitation and judgement brings an end to this situation.

#### 4. Evaluation and Conclusion

In conclusion, the reconsideration of the *Two Spirits Treatise* in light of *Serekh*-recensions and other texts from Qumran cave 4 puts the literary considerations about its composition history in perspective and gives further relief to the Treatise's dualistic, predestinarian, and eschatological outlook. The textual evidence of shorter alternative forms of the Treatise (*4Q257* V; *IQ29* 13-17; *4Q525* 11-12) may give reason to think that in its present form the *Two Spirits Treatise* in *IQS* did not pre-exist as an independent text. Instead, the present form, with its expanded lists of visitations of the Two Ways (IV 2-14), may have been the product of redactional elaboration as the Treatise became included as an adapted text in the *Serekh ha-Yahad*. Some of the Treatise's eschatology, in the Two Ways section, may therefore have been part of the "culmination of a development" in which the formulation of the doctrine of the Two Spirits became fully-fledged. (33) However, the additional parallels to manuscript fragments of the *Damascus Document* from cave 4 at the same time indicate that the Treatise may have built on pre-Qumran tradition common to a broader parent movement.

The broader ramifications of the Treatise's anthropological dualism may be affirmed in view of the striking similarities to the Treatise's dualism of spirits which occur in *4Q444*. The fact that these similarities can discern in an "incantation" text with a prophylactic function may not be so out of place, in view of ritual imagery of purification in *IQS* IV 20-22 and the inclusion of curse formulas against men of the lot of Belial in a preceding section of *IQS* (II 4-9). Predestination may further be encountered in, among other texts, the *Hodayot* (*IQH<sup>a</sup>* IX 16-20) and *Ages of Creation* (*4Q180* 1 1-4). Yet the combination of dualism and predestination in an eschatological perspective finds a clear parallel in *Times of Righteousness*. The comparative evidence indicates that the Treatise's eschatology with its dualistic and predestinarian parameters should not be considered an isolated worldview but may be interrelated to broader strands of thought in Essene and apocalyptic-minded circles of Palestinian Judaism in the Second Temple period.

Albert L.A. HOGETERP

(33) I here follow the idea of Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, 155.

## Appendix

1. *Dualism of Spirits*

<i>IQS</i> III 13-IV 26	<i>4Q444</i> frgs. 1-4 I + 5 (DJD 29)
IV 23 עד הנה יריבו רוחי אמת ועול בלבב גבר cf. IV 20 מבני איש	1. 2 ויהיו לרוחי ריב במבניתי
IV 20-21 תכמי בשרו	1. 3 תכמי בשר
IV 2-4 IV 3 רוח דעת / ובינה IV 2 דרכי צדק אמת cf. IV 2-3 ולפחד לבבו במשפטי אל	1. 3 רוח דעת ובינה אמת וצדק שם אל בלבבי
IV 4-5 and 15, 17-18 IV 4-5 וקנאת משפטי צדק ומחשבת קודש ביצר סמוך cf. IV 15 קנאת ריב and 17-18 צבאותם	1. 4 ותתחזק בחוקי אל ולהלחם ברוחי רשעה
IV 19-20 בממשלת עולה עד מועד משפט נחרצה	II. 6-7 [רון האמת והמשפט ה] עד תום ממשלתה
IV 10 מעשי תעובה ברוח זנות ודרכי נדה בעבודת טמאה	1. 8 [רוחות/רוחי מ]מזרים ורוח הטמאה

2. *Dualistic and Predestinatarian Parameters of Eschatology*

<i>IQS</i> III 13-IV 26	<i>4Q215a</i> ( <i>4QTime of Righteousness</i> ) (DJD 36)
III 16 ובהיותם לתעודותם כמחשבת כבודו ימלאו פעולתם ואין להשנות	1 II 8-9 and 11 כיא הואה[ידע/הכין] פעולתם בטרם הבראם 8-9 השכל ערמה ותושיה נבחנו במחשבת [ק]ו[דש]ו 11
IV 15 באלה תולדות כול בני איש ובמפלגיהן ינחלו כול צבאותם לדורותם	1 II 9-10 ועבודת הצדק פלג גבולותם בדורותם
IV 22 כיא במ בחר אל לברית עולמים	1 II 3 בחירי צדק



# 4Q472A IN INFRARED LIGHT: LATRINE MANUAL DOWN THE DRAIN

THIS paper presents a radical new reading of 4Q472a (previously designated 4QHalakha C) (1) that is based upon the investigation of recently acquired infrared photography. (2) According to the *DJD* edition by one of the present authors, this fragment was interpreted as the only Qumran document referring to the defecating habits of the Essenes, also described by Josephus. With new infrared images now available, such an interpretation should be abandoned altogether.

## A new reading of 4Q472a

וְרֹצַע עֲוֹנוֹתָי	1
יִאֲסוּף שְׂבִטִי נֹעַם לִטְעָנָם ב	2
כֹּל מְלוֹשׁ עֲרִסְתּוֹ נָבִי	3
לְ[ ]וּ עַל כֵּן עֲמָנוּ	4
לְ[ ]	5

## Readings and textual comments

1. וְרֹצַע. Alternatively וְרֹצַע or רֹחֵץ. The final letter in this word is a prima/media *ṣade*, which is not unique in Qumran scrolls. (3) The

(1) *DJD* 35, 155-156, Pl. XII.

(2) Thanks are due to Pnina Shor and Lena Liebman of the IAA for their help in this matter, and to Nordic Network in Qumran Studies and Saint Martin's University for funding the infrared photography. We are indebted to Esther Eshel who was an enthusiastic helper in the interpretation of this text. The suggested interpretation below would not have been possible without her assistance.

(3) E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 230-32, illustrations 1, 6, 26.

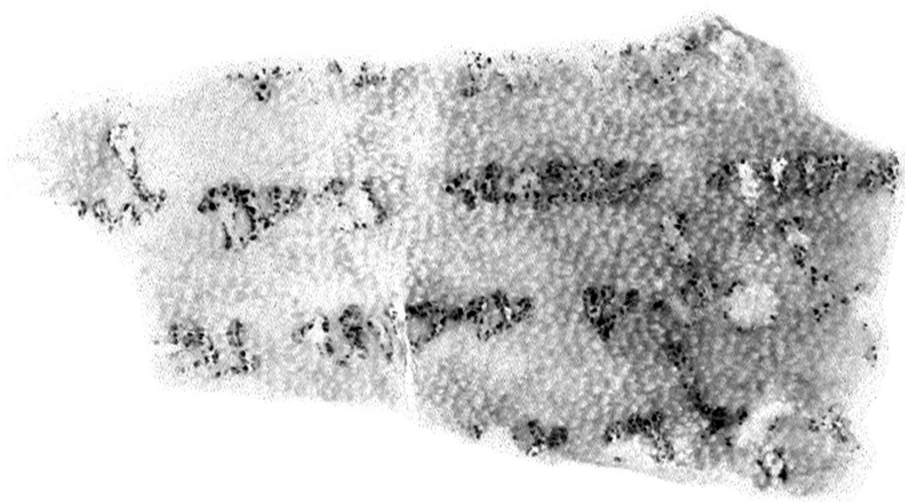
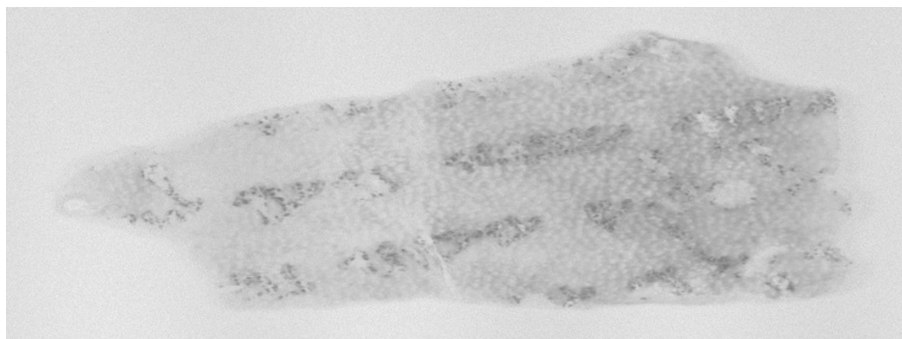


Plate 1.  
Infrared image of 4Q472a (courtesy IAA) and with contrast sharpened  
by use of Photoshop



Plate 2.  
Drawing of 4Q472a, by Ian Werrett.

preceding letters can be read in two ways: 1) Before *ṣade* one may read *yod/waw*, before that traces of *resh* or *dalet* preceded by a small hanging letter (*yod/waw*). This would give וְרוֹצַע or וְרוֹצַע from the root רוֹץ 'run/hasten.' 2) The two vertical strokes before *ṣade* may be read as *he* or *het* in stead of *resh* and *waw*, and the first letter of this word as *resh* in stead of *yod/waw*, which provides the reading רְחֹץ 'wash/bathe.' The first option seems materially easier.

1. עוֹרֵר. *ʿayin* followed by *waw/yod* is the easiest reading of the first two letters. Then follows a possible *resh* or *dalet* that is quite eroded, followed by another *resh* or *dalet*. A *poel* infinitive, imperative or precative perfect (perfect with imperative meaning) of עוֹר, meaning 'awake', could fit the context after the suggested reading וְרוֹצַע.

Comments to line 1: We are aware that the suggested readings in this line remain an educated guess based on poorly preserved material evidence. In light of the lines below, the terms 'hasten' and 'awake' could refer to the rapidly approaching time of salvation.

2. וְאַסוּף. There is a short space between *ʾalef* and *samek*, but smaller than the usual space between words in this fragment, so one should more preferably read וְאַסוּף or וְאַסוּף than וְאַסוּף. This word is a verbal form either from the root יָסַף in *hiphil* 'add' (וְאַסוּף, impf 1<sup>st</sup> p. sg.) or

Compare the early Hasmonean script of 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod), which did not use a separate form of *kap*, *pe*, and *ṣade* in final position, but did so for *mem* and *nun* (DJD 13.420).

אסף 'gather.' As we prefer 'gather' in the context, one can restore אסף 'he will gather,' אאסף 'I will gather,' or the infinitive לאסף. Alternatively one could read and restore באסף 'there will come an end.'

2. שבטי. The initial *shin* and final *yod* of this word are clear. The second letter can be *bet*, or less probably *pe*. Then follows either two small letters or one wide. If one wide letter, the easiest reading is *tet*, but *taw* is not impossible, so שבתי could be an option. However, שבת 'dwelling' is not attested in the plural. Materially שפטי 'judges of' is possible (see below), but שבטי is the easier reading from a material standpoint.

2. נועם. This reading is clear, and indicates that the preceding word is part of a construct phrase.

2. לטען. It should be noted that the supposed *tet* here looks somewhat different from the letter that we are reading as a *tet* in שבטי. Instead of *tet* one could read *yod/waw* followed by *nun* or *zayin*. Of the last letter one can see a hook, the beginning of *shin*, 'ayin, *qop*, or *samek*. There are more options for *tet* followed by 'ayin, viz. טעה 'err,' טעם 'taste,' טען I 'plead,' טען II 'load,' טעת (infinitive of נטע 'plant'). We suggest to restore לטענת 'to plant.' Alternatively this word could represent the preposition *le-* followed by a participle of a verb such as טעה 'to err.'

Comments to line 2: Both שבטי נועם or שפטי נועם are materially possible, and we cannot see other possible readings of the first word in this construct phrase. שפטי נועם 'judges of delight' can be understood as judges who perform right, favorable judgments, cf. *Ps* 141:6 that contrasts unrighteous judges with the favorable words of the psalmist: נעמו ... אמרי. The reconstruction שפטי נועם could suit the alternative reading באסף and suggest a word of judgment; "there will be an end to righteous judges," which could be supplemented with לטענים or לטענים (participle sg. or plur.) "for he/those who err..." (4)

But materially we prefer שבטי נועם for שפטי נועם, and interpret שבטי נועם as 'tribes of (his) delight,' at the same time playing on the meaning 'rods/scepters of delight.' For this unusual construct form, cf. the similar construction אנשי רצון 'men of (God's) favor' in *4Q418* (*4QInstruction*<sup>4</sup>) 81 10 and *4Q298* (*4QWords of the Maskil*) 1-2 i 3-4). If we are right in reading שבטי נועם, our text seems to play on *Zech*

(4) The spelling טעה would be unusual in a Hebrew text from Qumran. Biblical Hebrew spells the verb 'to err' with *taw*, while Mishnaic Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic spells it with *tet*. Participial forms of טעה are used in two Hebrew texts from Qumran; *6Q30* 1 ii 5 and *4Q228* 1 ii 4 (the reading טעיתם of *4Q228*, which *DJD* 13 hesitantly suggested, has been confirmed by checking the original by microscope in the scrollery).

11:7-14. The two rods (מקלות) of this passage may be interpreted as symbols of God's people, and one of the rods is indeed called נועם. Thus, for a Qumran interpreter שבטי נועם would be a suitable expression for God's people in a positive eschatological context.

We conclude that line 2 contains a promise of salvation: God will gather his people into the land of their inheritance. קבץ is a more common term for God's gathering the people back to the land (*Isa* 43:5; *Jer* 23:3; 31:8, 10; 32:37; *Zeph* 3:19, 20; *Ezek* 20:34, 41 *passim*), while *Isa* 11:12 and *Ezek* 11:17 uses both קבץ and אסף. A close parallel to our reading of this line is found in 4Q439 (4QLament by a Leader) 1 i 1 לְאַסֵּף צִדִּיקִים [קִי] עַמִּי "to gather in the righ[teous of ]my people" (see below on further parallels between our text and 4Q439).

3. מְלוֹשׁ. DJD 35 presents this word as שליֹשׁ, which was interpreted as a 'vessel/hatchet.' However, based upon the witness of the new infrared image this reading must now be discarded. Before *lamed* there is a circular erasure with four specks of ink at the edges (at 4, 7, 8, and 10 o'clock). The specks betray one wide letter; *mem* is suggested because of the context. The lowest speck of ink (7 o'clock) likely represents a spill of ink. Between *lamed* and *sin* there are remnants of *yod* or *waw*. מלוֹשׁ is a derivation of לֹשׁ 'knead.' מלוֹשׁ may be the preposition *me-* followed by the infinitive לֹשׁ, or more probably a noun, 'kneaded dough.' (5) The identification of the form מלוֹשׁ supplements our knowledge of Qumran Hebrew.

3. עֲרִיסָה. עֲרִיסָה or עֲרִיסָה 'dough' is an equivalent to בֶּצֶק (לֹשׁ is used together with בֶּצֶק in 2 *Sam* 13:8, *Jer* 7:18, and *Hos* 7:4). In *Num* 15:20-21, *Ezek* 44:30, and *Neh* 10:38 עֲרִיסָה is used in combination with ראשית to designate a sacrificial gift of the first (baked) dough after harvesting the grain. *Hos* 7:4 preserves the similar term מְלוֹשׁ בֶּצֶק ('from the kneading of the dough'). In *Hosea* מְלוֹשׁ is used as a *qal* infinitive construct preceded by the preposition *m-* מְלוֹשׁ בֶּצֶק עַד "from the kneading of the dough to its leavening." Another interpretation of מְלוֹשׁ that seems to fit the preceding כֹּל is to read מְלוֹשׁ as a noun, see y. *Gittin* 49b (8.1) אפילו זרקו לה בתוך המלוֹשׁ שלה "even if he tossed it into her (kneaded) dough" (translation ours). Neither לֹשׁ nor עֲרִיסָה are found elsewhere in Qumran literature (except for מלוֹשׁ in 4Q439, see below).

3. נבן. The last preserved letter is *bet*, less probably *mem*. This word could be restored as a verb in *niphal*, perhaps referring to the dough. An attractive restoration is נב[לע] "it will be eaten up."

(5) Credit should be given to John Strugnell who, perhaps remembering a time when the fragment was easier to read, suggested the reading מְלוֹשׁ. Strugnell did not provide any interpretation of this reading, however. See DJD 35, 156.

Comments to line 3: כָּל מְלוֹשׁ עֲרֹסְתּוֹ should be interpreted as ‘all his kneaded dough.’ The combined term כֹּל מְלוֹשׁ is used also in 4Q439 (4QLament by a Leader) 1 i 2 (as the final words of this line, the beginning of the next line is not preserved). (6) 4Q439 demonstrates more parallels with our text, cf. line 1 לְאַסֵּף צִדִּיקִי [עָמִי “to gather in the righ[teous of ]my people,” and line 2 “to make to pass in[to the covenant the men of my council]” (אֲנָשֵׁי סוּדִי), a term somewhat similar to שְׂבִטֵי נֹעַם). The parallels in 4Q439 support our interpretation ‘gather (the) tribes of (his) delight’ in line 2.

Starting with her proposed restoration נִבְלַע at the end of the line, Esther Eshel has suggested a possible meaning of this line in an eschatological context. In *Isa* 28:4 בֹּלֵעַ refers to eating immediately after harvesting, בְּעוֹדָה בִּכְפוֹ יִבְלַעְנָה “as soon it is in his hand he eats it up.” Our text could accordingly describe a similar rapid sequence of events: in the time of blessing one may eat almost at the moment one has finished kneading the dough. According to this line of thought one could restore the line to say something like “even as soon as he bakes all the dough he has kneaded, it is already being eaten.”

4. עַל כֵּן ‘therefore’ is the easiest reading of these two words. The three corners of ‘ayin are preserved. The first letter of the following word curves to the left at the bottom, so *kap* is the easiest reading. Of the following letter, two traces of ink are preserved to form a vertical stroke suggesting the shape of a final *nun*.

4. עַמָּנוּ. Traces of the last letter are preserved. *Mem* or *bet* are the easiest options, thereafter *resh* or *dalet*. The remnants of the last letter are similar to those of the final letter in line 3 (*bet* or *mem*). A restoration such as עַמָּנוּ “his people” would seem to compliment our reading of the ‘tribes’ in line 2.

Comments to line 4: עַל כֵּן ‘therefore’ could introduce an elaboration of the conditions of salvation for the redeemed people, or the judgment on the enemies.

## Translation

1. ]... and hasten, awake(?) [
2. He ]will gather (the) tribes of (his) delight, to pla[n]t them in

(6) DJD 29, 338. Based on Akkadian, Syriac and Mandaean parallels M. Kister has suggested to interpret מְלוֹשׁ in 4Q439 not as ‘kneading,’ but as ‘star’ or ‘horoscope,’ a meaning it carries in a later *hekhalot* text: “Three Unknown Hebrew Words in Newly Published Texts from Qumran” (Hebrew), *Leshonenu* 63 (2000-2001), 35-40, English summary p iv. Kister may be correct in his interpretation of this term in 4Q439, but such a meaning clearly does not fit 4Q472a.

3. ]all his kneaded dough will be ea[ten(?)
4. ].. therefore his peo[ple

### Orthography and paleography

The text preserves *plene* spellings of the words נועם and יִיאָסוּף in line 2. The script is an early Herodian or more probably a Hasmonean formal hand. (7) The letters slant heavily to the left. Only a handful of letters are so clearly discerned that their form can be described in detail.

- Bet*: the horizontal stroke does not extend to the right of the vertical stroke, as is common in late Herodian scripts. The left ascender stands clearly out.
- Yod/waw*: the head is large and clearly marked.
- Kap*: the top right corner is clearly marked and ascends slightly to the right.
- Lamed*: the head of lamed is made with a wide stroke, the hook is small.
- Nun*: the foot is rather wide.
- Samek*: has a sharp upper right corner and a wide vertical stroke to the left.
- Šin*: the left stroke descends below the first curved stroke (more clearly in lines 1 and 3 than in line 2).

### Concluding comments

The reading and interpretation of this fragment is not fully clear. We have argued, however, that there are good reasons to interpret it as being representative of an eschatological work of salvation. Line 2 seems to contain a (prophetic?) promise of salvation to the tribes of Israel or their remnant, designated 'tribes of (his) delight', who again will be gathered into their land. It is not immediately clear how the 'kneading of the dough' in line 3 is connected to the promise of line 2, but a possible solution is suggested above. עַל כֵּן 'therefore' of line 4 could either introduce a more elaborate description of the time of redemption or God's judgment on Israel's enemies.

The new reading of 4Q472a has enriched our knowledge of Qumran Hebrew, cf. the noun מְלוּשׁ and the construct phrase שְׁבִטֵי נֹעָם.

(7) For comparative scripts, cf. F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3rd ed. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), figure 17, lines 2-3, especially line 2 (4QDeur<sup>a</sup>, dated to 125-100 BCE). *Bet*, *kap*, and *nun* are close to the early Hasmonean script of 4Q422 (see note 3). Our script is particularly close to that of 4Q167 (4QpHosea<sup>b</sup>): *bet*, *kap*, *lamed*, *nun*, and final *mem* are similar (the letters of 4Q167 are, however, substantially larger).

This small fragment should be removed from the category of halakhic texts and reassigned to the parabiblical material, as it seems to play on terms from *Zechariah* 11 and *Hos* 7:4. We hesitantly suggest that this fragment be renamed ‘4QEschatological Work C.’

We can unanimously state that nothing remains of the ‘latrine terminology’ that Elgvin, with Baumgarten’s help, suggested in *DJD* 35. (8) In light of its history of interpretation, the importance of this fragment should not only be understood in terms of what it appears to say, but also in terms of what it fails to say.

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(8) For the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of this reading, see J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 108-10, 132; H. Harrington, *The Purity Texts* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 106-7; J.M. Baumgarten, “Tannaitic Halakhah and Qumran – A Re-Evaluation,” *Rabbinic Perspectives: Rabbinic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 62, S.D. Fraade, A. Shemesh, R.A. Clements, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1-11, p. 3; *DJD* 39.132. The link between Khirbet Qumran and the defecating habits of the Essenes may have been confirmed by Tabor, Zias, and Harter, who claim to have discovered remnants of the Qumran latrine some 500 m to the north-west of Khirbet Qumran. See J. Zias, J. Tabor, S. Harter-Lailheugue, “Toilets at Qumran, the Essenes, and the Scrolls: New Anthropological Data and Old Theories,” *RevQ* 88/22 (2006) 631-640. This hypothesis should be evaluated on its own strength, however, without any recourse to 4Q472a.



## RECENSION

Archie T. WRIGHT, *The Origin of Evil Spirits* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 2.Reihe, 201; Tübingen, J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2005), xvi + 260 pp., relié, € 49, ISBN 3-16-148656-0.

Cet ouvrage est la révision d'une thèse de doctorat dirigée conjointement par Loren T. Stuckenbruck et C. T. Robert Hayward, et soutenue à l'université de Durham en Février 2004. Archie T. Wright s'intéresse à la réception de Gn 6,1-4 dans le *Livre des Veilleurs* d'Énoch (1 Én 1-36), dans les textes de Qumrân et chez Philon d'Alexandrie. Il cherche à montrer que Gn 6,1-4 est à l'origine du développement de la démonologie, et en particulier de l'émergence d'un «esprit mauvais» autonome, dans le judaïsme ancien.

L'ouvrage comprend huit chapitres. Après un premier chapitre d'introduction, l'auteur donne un état de la recherche sur le *Livre de Veilleurs* depuis la publication des fragments araméens par J. T. Milik en 1976. Outre les questions de date, d'auteur et de composition, Wright porte une attention particulière à la question de la critique des sources et à la fonction du *Livre des Veilleurs*.

Le troisième chapitre est consacré à l'exégèse de Gn 6,1-4. L'auteur porte une attention particulière aux difficultés du texte, montre son ambiguïté et présente ses différentes interprétations dans le judaïsme ancien : la Septante, les Targumim et les écrits rabbiniques. Wright montre que, traditionnellement, le texte a été compris négativement comme l'élément déclencheur du Déluge. On regrette que l'auteur ne pose pas la question de la datation de Gn 6,1-4. Il s'accorde pour considérer que cette péricope est comme surajoutée dans le fil narratif du texte mais n'en tire pas de réelles conséquences pour l'argumentation.

Dans le chapitre quatre, il examine la réception de l'expression *bene Elohim* dans le *Livre des Veilleurs*. Dans cet écrit, les *bene Elohim* désignent les anges et sont identifiés avec les Veilleurs. Wright examine les deux traditions relatives à Asa'el et Shemihazah. Il s'oppose au lien établi par P. Hanson entre Asa'el et la figure d'«Azazel» du jour des Expiations de Lv 16 et nuance les rapprochements proposées par G. W. E. Nickelsburg entre la tradition d'Asa'el et le mythe Prométhéen. Le mythe d'Hésiode aurait pu, selon lui, être influencé par une tradition sémitique connue à la fois dans le monde grec et dans le monde juif. En ce qui concerne le péché entre les *bene Elohim* et les filles d'Israël, Wright ne s'accorde pas avec Suter pour y voir

une polémique contre le mariage des prêtres de Jérusalem avec des femmes étrangères.

Dans le cinquième chapitre, Wright examine le motif de la rébellion dans le *Livre des Veilleurs*. L'auteur y a interprété Gn 6,1–4 comme une forme de rébellion contre le ciel et l'a compris comme un récit étiologique de l'esprit mauvais. De l'union des Veilleurs avec les filles des hommes naissent les géants. Ces êtres hybrides possèdent à la fois les caractéristiques physiques des humains et la nature spirituelle des anges. À leur mort, leurs esprits continuent de parcourir la terre sous la forme d'esprits mauvais qui cherchent à détruire l'humanité. Wright établit alors un rapprochement entre cette interprétation et Mc 5,12.

Dans le sixième chapitre, Wright s'intéresse à la réception de la tradition des Veilleurs dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte. Il présente la question du dualisme dans les textes les plus importants de la communauté. Pour cela, il se fonde essentiellement sur l'étude de J. Frey «Different patterns of Dualistic thought in the Qumran Library. Reflections of their Background and History». L'auteur examine ensuite des textes d'exorcismes qui mettent en scène l'esprit mauvais (11QPsAp<sup>a</sup>, 11QPs<sup>a</sup> XIX, 4Q510–511). Wright cherche à montrer que la tradition des Veilleurs a été reprise par les auteurs des manuscrits et s'est développée dans le dualisme cosmique et éthique des textes de Qumrân. Mais, est-il possible de généraliser lorsque ces textes datent d'époques différentes et qu'ils ne sont pas tous nécessairement issus d'un même milieu?

Dans le septième chapitre, Wright s'intéresse à l'interprétation de Gn 6,1–4 dans les écrits de Philon d'Alexandrie. Il retient trois œuvres: *De Gigantibus*, *Quod Deus immutabilis sit*, et *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* (sic.). S'il retrouve des points de contacts entre l'interprétation du *Livre des Veilleurs* et celle de Philon, il constate surtout que ce dernier présente une interprétation bien différente, nourrie de la pensée platonicienne (cf. le tableau des pages 216–217). Plutôt que d'y voir un récit étiologique sur l'origine du mal, Philon y décrypte une représentation symbolique des luttes internes de l'âme humaine, les géants représentant les vices de l'âme.

Le huitième chapitre fournit, en guise de conclusion, un résumé substantiel des différentes parties. Wright met en valeur le fait que Gn 6,1–4 se prête à diverses interprétations sur l'origine du mal dans le monde. Différents index des textes anciens, des auteurs modernes et thématiques, viennent compléter cette étude.

Il s'agit d'un livre intéressant qui offre une bonne synthèse sur l'interprétation de Gn 6,1–4 dans le *Livre des Veilleurs* et sur les problématiques ouvertes. Les parties consacrées aux textes de Qumrân et de Philon d'Alexandrie sont moins fournies mais l'étude est bien menée.

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